Virgil

MISCELLANEA VIRGILIANA,

IN SCRIPTIS MAXIME ERUDITORUM VIRORUM VARIE DISPERSA,

IN UNUM FASCICULUM COLLECTA.

BY

A GRADUATE OF CAMBRIDGE,

EDITOR OF

THE "THEATRE OF THE GREEKS," AND "MISCELLANEA GRÆCA DRAMATICA."

[Donaldson]

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED FOR W. P. GRANT;

SOLD BY

R. PRIESTLEY; W. BAYNES AND SON; AND BLACK, YOUNG, AND YOUNG, LONDON.

MDCCCXXV.

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INTRODUCTION.

DIALOGUE III. OF J. SPENCE'S POLYMETIS,

VOL. I. PAGE 17.

ON THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE AENEID, AND FLOURISHING STATE OF POETRY AMONG THE ROMANS.

THE first age was only as the dawning of the Roman Poetry, in comparison of the clear full light that opened all at once afterwards, under Augustus Caesar. The state, which had been so long tending towards a monarchy, was quite settled down to that form by this prince. When he had no longer any dangerous opponents, he grew mild; or, at least, concealed the cruelty of his temper. He gave peace and quiet to the people that were fallen into his hands; and looked kindly on the improvement of all the arts and elegancies of life among them. He had a minister, too, under him, who (though a very bad writer himself) knew how to encourage the best: and who admitted the best poets, in particular, into a very great share of friendship and intimacy with him. Virgil was one of the foremost in this list; who at his first setting out grew[1] soon

NOTES.

[1] Phyllidis hic idem tenerosque Amaryllidis ignes
Bucolicis juvenis luserat ante modis.
Ovid. Trist. L. 2. v. 538.

——— Forte epos acer
Ut nemo Varius ducit: molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camoenae.
Hor. L. I. Sat. 10. v. 45.

I should take "molle" here, to be meant of the sweetness of Virgil's versification in his pastorals: and "facetum," of the elegance of his style and manner of writing. All writers of pastorals may be divided into two classes; the rural, and the rustic; or, if you will, the genteel and the homely. This character of facetus marks out Virgil's excelling in the genteel pastoral.

their most applauded writer for genteel pastorals; then gave them the most beautiful and most correct poem that ever was wrote in the Roman language, in his rules of agriculture (so beautiful, that [2] some of the antients seem to accuse Virgil of having studied beauty too much in that piece): and last of all undertook a political poem, in support of the new establishment. I have thought this to be the intent of the Aeneid, ever since I first read Bossu; and the more one considers it, the more I think one is confirmed in that opinion. Virgil is [3] said to have begun this poem the very year that Augustus was free from his great rival, Antony: the government of the Roman empire was to be wholly in him; and though he chose to be called their Father[4], he was, in every thing but the name, their King. This monarchical form of government must naturally be apt to displease the people. Virgil seems to have laid the plan of his poem to reconcile them to it. He takes advantage of this religious turn, and of some old [5] prophecies that must have been very flattering to the Roman people, as promising them the empire of the whole world. He weaves this in with the most [6] probable account of their origin; that of their being descended from the Trojans. To be a little more particular; Virgil, in his Aeneid, shews that Aeneas was called into their country by

NOTES.

[2] As Pliny and Seneca in particular. "Sed nos obliterata quoque scrutabimur; nec deterrebit quarundam rerum humilitas. Quanquam videmus Virgilium, praecellentissimum vatem, eâ de causâ hortorum dotes fugisse; tantisque quae retulit, flores modò rerum decerpisse." Pliny, L. 14. Proem. "Virgilius noster, qui non quid verissimè, sed quid decentissimè diceretur, aspexit; nec agricolas docere voluit, sed legentes delectare." Seneca, L. 13. Epist. 87.

[3] By de la Rue, in his life of Virgil.

[4] Dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile Saxum
Accolet; imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.
Virg. Aen. 9. v. 449.

"Non aliud discordantis patriae remedium fuisse, quin ut ab uno regeretur: non regno tamen, neque dictaturâ, sed principis nomine constitutam rempublicam." Tacit. Annal. L. I., where he is speaking for Augustus. Princeps here signifies much the same with princeps Senatûs; and so falls in with the title of Pater; the Senator by way of eminence, or the ruling Senator; which was a title as modest as his power was exorbitant.

He had the title of Pater Patriae, too, given him by all the three orders of the state; in the strongest manner that could be.

Sancte pater patriae, tibi plebes, tibi curia nomen
Hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen eques. Ovid. Trist. 2. v. 126.

[5] Plutarch, in his life of Julius Caesar.

[6] As being that of Dionysius Halicarnasseus, and some of the best Roman historians.

and that the Romans under them [10] were to obtain the monarchy of the world.

It appears from Virgil [11], and the other Roman writers, that Julius Caesar was of this royal race; and that Augustus [12] was his sole heir. The natural result of all this is, that the promises made to the Roman people, in and through this race,

NOTES.

[10] Homer had said, that Aeneas and his descendants should be princes for ever; or, in the eastern style, from generation to generation.

Ὄφρα μὴ ἄσπερμος γενεὴ καὶ ἄφαντος ὄληται
Δαρδάνου, ὃν Κρονίδης, περὶ πάντων φίλατο παίδων,
Οἵ ἕθεν ἐξεγένοντο γυναικῶν τε θνητάων.
Ἤδη γὰρ Πριάμου γενεὴν ἤχθηρε Κρονίων·
Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίη Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται·
Homeri. Il. Υ. 308.

That this prophecy was much insisted on by Augustus and his favourers, appears probable from the early care that was taken to alter the reading from Τρώεσσιν to Πάντεσσιν. See Ruaeus in Aen. 3. v. 97. Pope, on Il. 20. v. 355. And Bochart's letter to Segrais. Agreeably to which, Virgil, in inserting this prophecy in his Aeneid, says, the Trojan race, or family of Aeneas should reign in Italy, and obtain the universal empire.

Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris;
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis. Aen. 3. v. 97.

He uses the same, even proverbially:

Dum domus Aeneae Capitoli immobile saxum
Accolet; imperiumque pater Romanus habebit.

There are several other passages to the same purpose.

——— Aspera Juno ——
Consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit.
Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.
Sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus aetas
Cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenas
Servitio premet ——
Says Jupiter, Aen. 1. v. 285.

Externi veniunt generi, qui sanguine nostrum
Nomen in astra ferent; quorumque ab stirpe nepotes
Omnia sub pedibus, quâ sol utrumque recurrens
Aspicit oceanum, vertique regique videbunt.
Faunus' Oracle to Latinus, Aen. 7. v. 101.

[11] Nascetur pulchra Trojanus origine Caesar,
Imperium oceano, famam qui terminet astris;
Julius, à magno demissum nomen Iülo.
Aen. I. v. 288.

——— Genus qui ducis Olympo,
Projice tela prior, sanguis meus ——
Anchises of Julius Cæsar, Aen. 6. v. 836.

Several of the Roman writers speak of this high descent of Julius Caesar; and Suetonius in particular, who mentions a funeral oration made by Julius Caesar, over one of his relations, in which he says were these words; "Amitae meae, Juliae, maternum genus ab regibus ortum; paternum, cum diis immortalibus conjunctum est. Nam ab Anco Martio sunt reges, quo nomine fuit mater: à Venere, Julii: Cujus gentis familia est nostra." Suet. in Julio, § 6.

[12] His uncle Julius adopted him for his son: and made him his heir.—Utque primum occisum eum, haeredemque se comperit; urbe repetitâ, haereditatem adiit: atque ab eo tempore exercitibus comparatis, primum cum M. Antonio Marcoque Lepido, dein tantum cum Antonio, per duodecim fere annos; novissime, per quatuor et quadraginta, solus rempublicam tenuit.—Suetonius in Aug. § 8.

the [7] express order of the Gods; that he was made King of it by the [8] will of heaven; and by all the human rights that could be; that there was an [9] uninterrupted succession of Kings from him to Romulus; that his heirs were to reign there for ever;

NOTES.

[7] This is marked very strongly throughout all the first part of the Aeneid. The very night Troy is burnt, Aeneas is ordered to go and build a city in Italy, and to carry his Gods to it, by the spirits of Hector and Creüsa. Cassandra had foretold the same frequently to his father before:

Nunc repeto haec generi portendere debita nostro:
Et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna vocare. Aen. 3. v. 185.

Apollo orders the same:

— Antiquam exquirite matrem.
Hic domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur oris:
Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis. Aen. 3. v. 98.

And his domestic Gods, more expressly:

— Venturos tollemus in astra nepotes,
Imperiumque urbi dabimus. In moenia magnis
Magna para ———
Mutandae sedes. Non haec tibi littora suasit
Delius, aut Cretae jussit considere Apollo.
Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt,—
Hae nobis propriae sedes: hinc Dardanus autor, etc.
Aen. 3. v. 167.

The same orders are given to Aeneas whilst at Carthage, by the spirit of his departed father; Aen. 4. v. 351. And, lastly, by the great messenger of the chief of all the Gods:

Ipse Deûm tibi me claro demittit Olympo
Regnator, coelum et terras qui numine torquet:
Ipse haec ferre jubet celeres mandata per auras.
Quid struis, aut quâ spe Lybicis teris otia terris?
Ascanium surgentem et spes haeredis Iüli
Respice: cui regnum Italicae Romanaque tellus
Debentur. ——— Aen. 4. v. 275.

—— Tot responsa secuti,
Quae Superi Manesque dabant,—
Italiam petiere. ———
Aen. 10. v. 32—34.

[8] The divine right appears from what is said in the note before: Virgil takes care to join all the civil rights to it that can be.—He has an hereditary claim from Dardanus and Jasius. Aen. 3. v. 168.—He has a right by conquest. Aen. 12. v. 1.—He has a right by compact. Aen. 12. v. 175 to 225.—And he has a right by marrying the only daughter of the then King. Aen. 12. v. 937; and 7. v. 50—52.

[9] Aeneas succeeds Latinus. Aen. 1. v. 265. Iülus succeeds Aeneas. Aen. 1. v. 269. His race (which is therefore called the Trojan line by Virgil, Aen. 1. v. 273.) reign for the next three hundred years; then follows Romulus, Aen. 1. v. 276, still of the Trojan line, as grandson of Aeneas Sylvius. Aen. 6. v. 778.

Romulus Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater
Educet —— Aen. 6. v. 780.

Aeneas, Latinus, and the kings before him, resided in old Latium. Aen. 7. v. 38 to 49; and 1. v. 265. Iülus removed the royal seat to Alba. Aen. 1. v. 271, etc. Where it continued till Romulus transferred it to Rome. So that this continued succession of their kings is intimated, too, by Virgil even in the proposition of his poem; where every thing that is said ought to be of the greatest weight.

What he proposes is, "to sing the "great hero who came from Troy, by "the order of Heaven, to settle in "Italy; the difficulties he underwent "in his voyage; and the wars he sus- "tained before he could found a city, "and introduce his religion into Latium. "Whence sprung, first the Latian line "of kings, then their chiefs at Alba; "and lastly, the powers of Rome, that "raised herself so high among the na- "tions."

terminating in Augustus; the Romans if they would obey the Gods, and be masters of the world, were to yield obedience to the new establishment, under that prince. As odd a scheme as this may seem now, it is scarce so odd as that of some people among us, who persuaded themselves that an absolute obedience was owing to our kings, on their [13] supposed descent from some unknown patriarch. And yet that had its effect with many about a century ago, and seems not to have quite lost all its influence, even in our remembrance. However that be, I think it appears plain enough, that the two great points aimed at by Virgil in his Aeneid, were to maintain their old religious tenets, and to support the new form of government, in the family of the Caesars. That poem, therefore, may very well be considered as a religious and political work: or rather (as the vulgar religion with them was scarce any thing more than an engine of state) it may fairly enough be considered as a work merely political. If this was the case, Virgil was not so highly encouraged by Augustus and Maecenas for nothing. To speak a little more plainly; he wrote in the service of the new usurpation, on the state; and all that can be offered in vindication of him in this light is, that the usurper he wrote for was grown a tame one; and that the temper and bent of their constitution at that time was such, that the reins of government must have fallen into the hands of some one person or another; and might, probably, on any new revolution, have fallen into the hands of some one less mild and indulgent than Augustus was at the time when Virgil wrote this poem in his service. But whatever may be said of his reasons for writing it, the poem itself has been highly applauded in all ages, from its first appearance to this day; and though left [14] unfinished by its author, has been always

NOTES.

13 See Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarchal scheme; with Mr. Locke's confutation of it.

14 Though this is mentioned by several ancient writers, I think the plainest proof of it is the many breaks, or hemistichs in the poem itself; a thing never done in any finished poem by any other Roman poet of his time; nor by Virgil himself in any of his other poems, which were finished

reckoned as much superior to all the other epic poems among the Romans, as Homer's is among the Greeks. It preserves more to us of the religion of the Romans, than all the other Latin poems (excepting only Ovid) put together: and gives us the forms and appearances of their deities as strongly as if we had so many pictures of them preserved to us, done by some of the best hands in the Augustan age. It is remarkable that he is commended by some of the antients themselves, for the strength of his imagination [15] as to this particular; though, in general that is not his character, so much as exactness. He was certainly the most correct poet, even of his time; in which all false thoughts and idle ornaments in writing were discouraged: and it is as certain, that there is but little of invention in his Aeneid; much less, I believe, than is generally imagined. Almost all the little facts in it are [16] built on history; and even as to the particular lines, no one perhaps ever [17] borrowed more from the poets that preceded him, than he did. He goes so far back as to old Ennius; and often inserts whole verses, from him, and some other of their earliest writers. The obsoleteness

NOTES.

[15] Magna mentis opus ———
——Currus et equos, faciesque Deorum,
Aspicere; et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinnys.
Nam si Virgilio puer et tolerabile desit
Hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri.
Surda nihil gemeret grave buccina.
Juvenal. Sat. 7, v. 71.

Juvenal on this occasion points to the very noblest efforts of imagination that Virgil has shewn in his whole poem; and it is remarkable that they all relate to their deities. Currus et equos, may refer to that terrible description of Mars in his chariot, Aen. 12. v. 332, or that mild one of Neptune, Aen. 1, v. 127, 146, and 155, as facies Deorum, to that noble passage, in the description of Troy sinking in its flames. Aen. 2. v. 623—636.

The next words are evidently spoken of this passage in the 7th Aeneid:

Talibus Alecto dictis exarsit in iras.
At juveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus:
Diriguere oculi. Tot Erinnys sibilat hydris;
Tantaque se facies aperit! Tum flammea torquens
Lumina, cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura
Reppulit; et geminos erexit crinibus angues;
Verberaque insonuit ———
Aen. 7. v. 451.

And the last, as evidently, of this:

At Saeva, ———————
——————— pressere ad pectora natos. Aen. 7. v. 518—525.

[16] There are several even of the minutest passages in the Aeneid, (such as Ascanius' jest, and the like) which appear to have been traditional and historical, to any one that has read Dionysius Halicarnasseus.

[17] This appears from Macrobius, and the other collectors of Virgil's imitations of Homer, &c.

of their style did not hinder him much in this: for he [18] was a particular lover of their old language; and no doubt inserted many more antiquated words in his poem, than we can discover at present. Judgment is his distinguishing character; and his great excellence consisted in choosing and ranging things aright. Whatever he borrowed, he had the skill of making his own, by weaving it so well into his work, that it looks all of a piece; even those parts of his poem, where this may be most practised, resembling a fine piece of Mosaic; in which all the parts, though of such different marbles, united together; and the various shades and colours are so artfully disposed, as to melt off insensibly into one another.

NOTES.

[18] Unde pictaï vestis, et aquaï, Virgilius amantissimus vetustatis carminibus inseruit. Quintilian. Instit. Or. L. i. c. 7. p. 70. Ed. Hack. 1665.——A great many of these old words in Virgil have probably been altered by the transcribers. Quid quod Ciceronis temporibus, paulumque infra, fere quoties S. litera media vocalium longarum, vel subjecta longis esset, geminabatur? ut caussa, cassus, divissiones. Quo modo et ipsum, et Virgilium quoque scripsisse, manus eorum docent, ib. p. 71. And others have been mistaken by the critics. Thus, for instance, they say Virgil uses fervere short, Aen. 8. v. 677, that the sound may agree more with the sense of the word; whereas the true reason was his imitating the practice of the ancients; who, as we learn from the same author, used fervo and ferveo indifferently. Ib. L. i. c. 6. p. 57.

REMARKS AND DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

FOUR GEORGICS,

AND

THE FIRST SIX ÆNEIDS

OF

VIRGIL.

By Mr. HOLDSWORTH.

REMARKS AND DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

GEORGICS*.

Mr. Holdsworth had designed for many years to publish an edition of Virgil's Georgics, with his notes to them. His death, and the frequent ill state of his health in the interval, prevented his carrying this design into execution. There is part of the preface which he intended to prefix to it; and several little strictures (probably toward a Dissertation on the Georgics) among his papers; which, though only strictures, as they are his, may deserve a place here.

* Virgil's Georgics are generally allowed to be the most correct of all his works; and yet, I believe, there is no part of them so much neglected, or so little read. And the reason is plain, because there is none so difficult to be understood. This difficulty does not, as I apprehend, arise from the poet's manner of expressing himself more obscurely in this poem than in his others; for if that were true, it would not then deserve the character it bears. But it seems rather owing, partly to the nature of the subject, and partly to the commentators, who have undertaken to explain it. The subject in itself may, perhaps, appear easy, as it chiefly relates to different parts of husbandry, and common affairs of life. But then we must consider that the lower and more humble the subject, the more necessary were metaphors to raise and ennoble it; which some of the commentators have not sufficiently observed, but have explained their Author in a too dry grammatical way. Again, we must consider that many of those things which Virgil treats about are liable to little changes in the same age, and much more in such different ages; and that every country has its own manner of culture, and makes use of different instruments. This renders the subject much more difficult than it appears at first sight.

And the commentators having been of different countries may probably have been biassed too much by their own fashions, and consequently must have mistaken Virgil in many places, for want of being better informed in the husbandry and particular usage of the country for which his system is calculated.

In short, I look upon this piece as a fine old *paysage* which had grown dark and a little obscure by length of time; but has suffered much more by those who have attempted to clean it, and wipe off that little dust which it must unavoidably have contracted by age. Yet notwithstanding all this it still continues a fine piece; and by what remains well preserved, we may easily judge what the whole must have been in its original beauty; and when every part of it was well understood.

Beside the delicacy of expression in the Georgics, we ought particularly to remark the transitions from one precept to another, which are managed with such exquisite art, notwithstanding the number of them, as not to break the thread of the poem. And to prevent the Reader's being tired with precepts, interludes and decorations at proper distances are judiciously interspersed, and those so well assorted, that though many of them are very foreign to the subject, they seem to belong to it, and flow from it; and produce an agreeable variety, at the same time that they serve to compose one entire regular piece.

Lest the inculcating precept upon precept might prove tiresome to the reader, the poet takes care not to encumber his poem with too much business, but relieves the subject with some variety or transition.

Mr. Addison admires Virgil's great art in his manner of treating his precepts; that they fall in after each other by a natural unforced method; and shew themselves in the best and most advantageous light. They are so finely wrought together in the same piece, that no coarse seam discovers where they join. As in a curious brede of needlework one colour falls away by such just degrees, and another rises so insensibly, that we see the variety without being able to distinguish the total vanishing of the one from the first appearance of the other.

Democritus had given this title to a treatise on agriculture, as appears from Columella, lib. XI. c. iii.

"Democritus in eo libro, quem Georgicon appellavit."

The Georgics are the least read, and the least understood, of all Virgil's works.—How falsely has it been imagined, that the commentators have discovered more beauties than Virgil intended!

The Georgic (to use the words of Terence) is, "Corpus "solidum et succi plenum."

Mr. Addison concludes this poem to be the most complete, elaborate, and finished piece of all antiquity.

After this particular account of the beauties of the Georgics, I should, in the next place, endeavour to point out its imperfections, if it has any. But though I think there are some few parts in it not so beautiful as the rest, I shall not presume to name them, as rather suspecting my own judgment than I can believe a fault to be in that poem which lay so long under Virgil's correction, and had his last hand put to it.

Mr. Pope, in the first note on the nineteenth book of the Odyssey, makes the following observation on the general characters of Homer and Virgil. Homer, says he, is like those painters of whom Apelles used to complain, that they left nothing to be imagined by the spectator, and made too accurate representations; but Virgil is like Timantes in Pliny. "Timanti plurimum adfuit ingenii, in omnibus operibus ejus intelligitur plus semper quam pingitur."—And again, "Ostendit etiam quae occultat."—This character is particularly verified in his Georgics.

I have heard Mr. Holdsworth mention, in conversation, the following strictures, in relation to the Georgics.

The style of each book of the Georgics is different from all the others. That of the First is plain; of the Second, various; of the Third, grand; and of the Fourth, pleasing.

Columella's work is much the best comment on the Georgics.

I wonder whence Seneca came to speak so slightly of Virgil's exactness in his Georgics; but this I am sure of, that the more I have looked into the manner of agriculture used at present in Italy, the more occasion I have had to admire the justice and force of his expressions; and his exactness even in the minutest particulars.

Mr. Holdsworth here probably had an eye to the following passage in Seneca. "Virgilius noster, qui non quid verissimè, sed quid decentissimè diceretur, aspexit; nec agricolas docere voluit, sed legentes delectare." Lib. XIII. Ep. lxxxvii.

Pliny also speaks but slightingly of Virgil. "Nos obliterata quoque scrutabimur; nec deterrebit quarundam rerum *humilitas.* Quanquam videmus Virgilium, praecellentissimum vatem, eâ de causâ hortorum dotes fugisse: e tantisque quae retulit, flores modò rerum decerpisse," etc. Lib. XIV. prooem. p. 67.

The particular for which Pliny blames Virgil is the time for sowing millet; how unjustly, see Columell. II. ix. and Pliny himself, Nat. Hist. XVIII. vii.

Columella talks of Virgil in a style very different from these passages in Pliny and Seneca. "Haec autem consequemur, si verissimo vati velut oraculo crediderimus." L. I. c. iv.

"Vir eruditissimus, ut mea fert opinio." Columell. lib. I. c. iii. (of Virgil.)

" Ideoque Virgilius cum et alia, tum et hoc de seminibus " praeclarè sic disseruit:

" Vidi ego lecta diu," etc. Id. II. ix. 12.

" Sequeris autem novalia non solùm herbida, sed quae ple- " rumque vidua sunt spinis; utamur enim saepius auctoritate " divini carminis:

" Si tibi lanitium curae est," &c.
(From Virgil's Georg. iii. 384.) Id. VII. iii. 9.

" Sed Georgicum carmen affirmat nullam esse praestantiorem " medicinam,

" Quam si quis ferro potuit rescindere summum
" Ulceris os; alitur vitium, crescitque tegendo."

" Itaque reserandum est, etc. Id. VII. v. 10. Et ne dece- " damus ab optimo vate,

" Vere novo terram," etc. Georg. I. 43. Id. II. 2.

He never differs from Virgil, but in one single point, in which he says he and the old writers in agriculture in general were mistaken; " Virgilius, et Saserna, Stolonesque, et Catones." Id. IV. II.

Speaking of bees, in particular, he says; " Hyginus, veterum " auctorum placita secretis dispersa monumentis industriè col- " legit; Virgilius, poeticis floribus illuminavit; Celsus utriusque " memorati adhibuit modum." Id. IX. ii. I.—(Yet how reserved in his poetical excursions even on that subject! See ibid. III.)

GEORGIC THE FIRST.

VER. 1—5.

" QUID faciat laetas segetes: quo † sidere terram
" Vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adjungere vites,
" Conveniat: quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo
" Sit pecori: apibus quanta experientia parcis:
" Hinc canere incipiam."———

† Virgil proposes the Stars as part of his subject here; and says elsewhere:

———" Tam sunt Arcturi sidera nobis
" Hoedorumque dies servandi, et lucidus Anguis;
" Quàm quibus in patriam ventosa per aequora vectis,
" Pontus et ostriferi fauces tentantur Abydi." Ver. 207.

Ovid, who wrote his Fasti chiefly for the use of the countrymen and farmers, mentions them also in his proposition to that poem:

" Lapsaque sub terras, ortaque signa canam."

VER. 5—9.

———" Vos, ô * clarissima mundi
" Lumina, labentem coelo quae ducitis annum:
" Liber et alma Ceres, vestro si munere tellus
" Chaoniam pingui glandem mutavit aristâ,
" Poculaque inventis Acheloïa miscuit uvis."

* It cannot, I think, be doubted, notwithstanding what Commentators say, but that Virgil means the Sun and Moon by—" Vos, ô clarissima," etc. Varro, in the beginning of his Agriculture, invokes twelve Gods, whom he calls " duodecim Deos Consentes;" 'tis probable that Virgil invokes the same remarkable number, which cannot be made out without reckoning the Sun and Moon. And though all Virgil's twelve Gods are not the same as Varro's, yet they both agree in invoking principally the Sun and Moon, Ceres and Bacchus; and both give the same reasons for their invocations. It cannot indeed well be imagined, when the Poet employs so much of his first book on the influences of the Sun and Moon, that he should omit to invoke them. The objection, from the want of a copulative, is of little force, the conjunction being frequently omitted by the best Authors, particularly by Virgil himself within ten verses ——— " Ipse nemus linquens," etc.

Ver. 18—20.

" Adsis, ô Tegeaee favens: oleaeque Minerva
" Inventrix, uncique * puer monstrator aratri:
" Et teneram ab radice ferens, Sylvane, cupressum."

* In a medal of Caracalla; the reverse represents Triptolemus drawn by dragons; and sowing, as Buonarroti supposes. See his Medaglioni, p. 423.

Ovid, lib. III. de Trist. El. viii. describes Triptolemus in this attitude:

" Nunc ego Triptolemi cuperem conscendere currus,
" Misit in ignotam qui rude semen humum."

Ver. 21—23.

" Diique Deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri;
" Quique novas alitis * nonnullo semine fruges,
" Quique satis largum caelo demittitis imbrem."

* " Non ullo" must certainly be the true reading;—for hereby are only meant Plants which grow of themselves without our trouble of sowing them, " nullis hominum cogentibus," as he expresses it at the beginning of the 2[d] book. These he distinguishes from the Satis, in the following verse.

Ver. 24—31.

" Tuque adeo †, quem mox quae sint habitura Deorum
" Consilia, incertum est; urbisne invisere, *[1] Caesar,
" Terrarumque velis curam; et te maximus orbis
" Auctorem frugum, tempestatumque potentem
" Accipiat, cingens maternâ tempora myrto:
" An Deus immensi venias maris, ac tua nautae
" Numina sola colant: tibi serviat ultima *[2] Thule,
" Teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis."

† This was not so strain'd a compliment in those times, as it may appear now. It might not be much more than what we say of every good man at his death, " That he is gone to Heaven." May not this be the meaning of what Columella says of Virgil himself?

" Siderei vatis referens praecepta Maronis." De Cult. 434.

Siderei, now in Heaven; i. e. among the Constellations.

At least it grew to be a common compliment to the Emperors afterwards.——See Lucan's Bombast on Nero, in the beginning of his Pharsalia; where he begs him to get into the chariot of the Sun.—Val. Flaccus talks of Vespasian's getting up among the Constellations too, in the entrance of his Argonautics.—

Statius says as much of Domitian, whilst living; and would fain place him in the chariot of the Sun too, in another part of his works. (Sylv. iv. 1. 3.—ib. iii.138.)

Heroes (such as Hercules, Perseus, etc.) were supposed by the Heathens to be actually become Constellations. They might therefore as well say of an Emperor, that he would be a Star, as that he was a great Hero.

Horace ridicules this compliment, when given to bad or mean persons:

—— " Sive mendaci lyrâ
" Voles sonari: Tu pudica, Tu proba,
" Perambulabis astra sidus aureum."
Epod. xvii. 41. of the infamous Canidia.

*[1] After invoking twelve sorts of Deities, Virgil annexes Augustus to them.—Freinshemius, in his Supplement to Q. Curt. tells us, that, in the Theatre where Philip celebrated public shews just before he was murdered, there were the effigies of twelve Deities exquisitely wrought; and that there was a thirteenth, which represented Philip in nothing inferior to the rest. And then adds, that this contempt of his mortal condition was quickly revenged. See book Ist, just preceding Philip's Death.——† Was not this call'd the Τρισκαιδεκατος Θεος ?—῾Οταν και τον Ελεου εστησαντο βωμον, ὡς Τρισκαιδεκατου Θεου. Philostratus, Epist. lxx. Ed. Lips. 1709.

*[2] As Virgil is here complimenting Augustus with dominions as God of the Sea, we must suppose that he means by his Thule, " ultima pars orbis mari adeunda."—Where this was, according to the opinion of the Antients, is not agreed upon by Geographers. But it is most probable that it meant Iceland. Strabo tells us of an author who mentions a country in that part of the world, though the knowledge of it was again lost in his time. His account is as follows; lib. i. speaking of the Description of the Earth by Eratosthenes, he says: " Latitudinem terrae de-
" finiens à Meroes μεσημβρινου usque ad Alexandrinum, pronunciat
" esse μυριους, ενθεν δε εις τον ῾Ελλεσποντον περι οκτακισχιλιους ἑκατον
" σταδιους, ειτ' εις Βορυσθενη πεντακισχιλιους, ειτ' εις τον κυκλον τον δια,
" Θουλης (ἡν φησι Πυθεας απο μεν της Βρεταννικης ἑξ ἡμερων πλουν
" απεχειν προς Αρκτον, εγγυς δ' ειναι της πεπηγυιας θαλαττης) αλλους
" ὡς μυριους χιλιους πεντακοσιους."

'Tis true that Strabo ridicules this account given of Thule by Pytheas, and denies that there was any such place as Thule, because they had no knowledge of it in his time. His words are these, as in the translation: " Quis autem mentis compos " intervallum quod a Borysthene ad Thulen ponit pro vero " judicabit? Cum et Pytheas, qui Thules historiam retulit, " homo mendacissimus sit inventus: Et qui Iberniam Britanni-

" cam viderunt nihil de Thule dicant, sed alias quasdam parvas " circa Britanniam insulas commemorent."——Immediately afterwards, he says: " Qui è Britanniâ mediâ non amplius IV " stadiorum progressus millia terram inveniat cujus diversa sit " habitationis ratio, nempe ad Hiberniam: ut ulteriora ista in " quae ille (Pytheas) Thulen rejecit, non jam habitari possint."

Again, lib. ii. Strabo repeats the account of Thule given by Pytheas.—" Pytheas Massiliensis circa Thulen Britannicarum " Insularum Septentrionalissimam ultima ait esse, ubi Tropicus " aestivus Arctici Circuli vicem gerit. De reliquis nihil nar- " rat, neque quod insula sit Thule, neque utrum eò usque ha- " bitationes pertingant, ubi Tropicus pro Arctico est. Ego " autem illum septentrionalem finem multo propius meridiem " versus existimo. Qui enim hodie terras perlustrant ultra " Hiberniam nihil possunt referre, quae non longe versus Sep- " tentrionem ante Britanniam jacet, planè ferorum hominum " domicilium, et propter frigus malè incolentium, ibi ergo " finem constituendum censeo."

Again Strabo, lib. iv. at the latter end of his account of Britain, says: " Circa Britanniam sunt cum aliae parvae insu- " lae; tum magna, Hibernia; versus Septentrionem juxta Bri- " tanniam porrecta, latior quam longior. De hac nihil certi " habeo quod dicam, nisi quod incolae ejus Britannis sunt " magis agrestes," etc. Then he adds: " Magis etiam obscura " est Thules historia ob tam longinquum situm, omnium enim " quarum ferantur nomina maximè versus Septentrionem esse " hanc dissitam aiunt."

From these several passages it appears, that neither the North part of Scotland (as Sir Robert Sibbald would have it), nor Ireland, nor any of the smaller Islands round Britain, could be the Thulè, of the Antients: but that they reckon'd it much farther North. 'Tis not surprising that Strabo should have no knowledge of it, when he had so little information even of Ireland, as appears from his situation and description of it.——And when he tells us that, " ulteriora ista, in quae Pytheas Thulen rejicit, " non habitari possint." But he confesses, lib. ii. that he never travelled that way, not even so far as into Gaul, and what he relates was only upon hearsay; and upon so bad authority, that he declares in his account of Ireland: Ταυτα δ' ουτω λεγομεν ως ουκ εχοντες αξιοπιστους μαρτυρας. lib. iv. Pytheas, being a Marsilian, might have opportunities of being better inform'd: and that he was rightly inform'd is now manifest.——Strabo himself, when he is condemning Pytheas, owns at the same time that his account was very judicious; and that, supposing there was such a country as Thulè, they must probably live in the manner as Pytheas describes. " Quod ad caeli rationem et mathematicam attinet " contemplationem videtur non ineptè eorum locorum descrip-

"sisse proprietatem; quae frigidae appropinquant plagae," etc. lib. iv.

All the Poets and other Authors, who mention Thulè, speak of it as the uttermost part of the world towards the North; and as Britain in Virgil's time was esteemed part of the Roman dominions, and as Augustus received tribute from thence, Virgil in this compliment must extend his view further. And as he subjects Maximum Orbem to him, as God of the Earth; so he gives him the utmost bounds of the Sea, as a God of that Element.

VER. 32—35.

"Anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
"Quâ locus Erigonen inter †, Chelasque sequentes
"Panditur: ipse tibi jam brachia contrahit ardens
"Scorpius, et coeli justâ plus parte reliquit."

† With how great propriety Virgil has chosen this place for Augustus among the Constellations; see Pol. D. ii. N. 51. and that part of the Text, which the Note relates to.

VER. 36—40.

† "Quicquid eris; (nam te nec sperent Tartara regem,
"Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido:
"Quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos,
"Nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem)
"Da facilem cursum, atque audacibus annue coeptis."

† The connexion of the sense seems to be thus—"Whether "you will be a God on Earth, on the Seas, or of Heaven, (for "any part of Hades is too severe a Post of Honour for so mild "a Prince, tho', if we believe the Greek Poets, the place has "its charms too,) grant me your Patronage," etc.

VER. 43—46.

"Vere novo, gelidus canis cum montibus humor
"Liquitur, et Zephyro putris se gleba resolvit;
"Depresso incipiat jam tum mihi taurus aratro
"Ingemere, et sulco attritus splendescere vomer."

* The beginning of Spring, according to the Roman Kalendar, was VII. id. Feb. but, not to confine the beginning of ploughing precisely to a day, Virgil proceeds to explain his "Ver novum" to mean, as soon as the severity of Winter begins to abate.——

———— "Gelidus canis cum montibus humor
"Liquitur," etc. ————————

Columella understands this passage in this manner, Lib. XI. c. ii. where, alluding to this verse "Vere novo,"—he says, "Novi

"autem veris principium non sic observare rusticus debet "quemadmodum astrologus, ut expectet certum diem illum qui "veris initium facere dicitur: sed aliquid etiam sumat de parte "hyemis, quoniam consumptâ brumâ jam intepescit annus, "permittitque clementior dies opera moliri."—Virgil likewise more fully declares this to be his meaning in a few verses after, where he specifies the time for ploughing different sorts of land.

———"Ergo age, terrae
"Pingue solum primis extemplo à mensibus anni."
Ver. 64. etc.

The "primus mensis" was January. So Columella in the same place, "Possit igitur rusticus ab idibus Januariis (ut "principem mensem Romani anni observet) auspicari culturarum "officia."—And again a little after,—"Ab Idibus Januariis "siccos et pingues agros tempestivum est proscindere; nam et "uliginosi et mediocris habitûs sub aestate vereve agendi sunt."

VER. 47—49.

"Illa seges demum votis respondit avari
"Agricolæ, bis quæ solem, bis frigora * sensit:
"Illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes."

* Of this passage Pliny thus says. "Quarto seri sulco "Virgilius existimatur voluisse, cum dixit optimam esse segetem, quae bis solem, bis frigora sensisset." L. XVIII. c. xx.

Columella frequently uses "secundo, tertio, quarto sulco," for so many times ploughing, or turning up the ground; particularly lib. II. c. xiii. he says, "Semina, quae quarto sulco "seruntur, in jugeribus viginti quinque desiderant bubulcorum "operas CXV. nam proscinditur is agri modus quamvis durissimi "quinquaginta operis, iteratur quinque et viginti, tertiatur et "conseritur XL." where manifestly the sowing is the fourth Sulcus.

In Virgil's rule, "Bis quae solem," etc. not only direction is given for ploughing four times, but the reason included for so doing; that both heat and cold mellow the ground. Virgil in other places hints at the same effects of heat and cold.

In the second Georgic, speaking of planting young vines, he says,

——— "Terram multo ante memento
"Excoquere."——— Ver. 260.

And,

"Ante supinatas aquiloni ostendere glebas."—Ib. 261.

And,

———"Optima putri
"Arva solo, id venti curant gelidaeque pruinae. Ib. 263.

Columella expressly ascribes this virtue to the sun and frost. L. V. c. ix. where, giving instruction about planting olives, he says, "Ipsis scrobes praeparantur anno ante; vel, si tempus non "largitur, priusquam deponantur arbores, stramentis incendan- "tur scrobes, ut eos ignes putres faciat, quos sol et pruina "facere debuerat."

Varro having given directions, lib. I. c. xxx. for the early plowings in the Spring, that is, in cold weather, tells us, c. xxxv. "Quid inter solstitium et caniculam faciendum sit." And expressly orders at that time; "Arationes absolvere; quae eò "fructuosiores fiunt, quo calidiore terrâ aratur."—And then adds, "Cum prosciderIs offringi oportet, id est, iterare ut fran- "gantur glebae." As he had before directed in the very same words for the early plowing; so that he must mean two summer plowings, as well as two winter or spring.

Pliny speaks of deep stiff land at his Tusculanum, which required nine times plowing. Lib. V. epist. vi.

VER. 50—53.

"At prius *[1] ignotum ferro quàm *[2] scindimus aequor,
"Ventos *[3] et varium coeli praediscere morem
"Cura sit, ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum:
"Et quid quaeque ferat regio, et quid quaeque recuset."

*[1] Varro, lib. I. c. v. treating of the parts of agriculture, says, "Agriculturae quatuor sunt partes summae: è queis prima "cognitio fundi, solum, partesque ejus quales sint. Secunda, "quae in eo fundo opus sunt ac debeant esse culturae causâ. "Tertia, quae in eo praedio colendi causâ sint facienda. "Quarta, quo quicquam tempore in eo fundo fieri conveniat." These four heads he subdivides into more. Virgil observes the same method very artfully.

*[2] This was the proper term for breaking up ground, as appears from Varro. "Terram cum primùm arant, proscindere "appellant." Lib. I. c. xxix.

*[3] Columella, citing this passage of Virgil, says, "Verissimo "vati velut oraculo crediderimus." Lib. I. c. iv.

VER. 56—59.

——— "Nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores,
"India mittit ebur, molles sua *[1] thura Sabaei?
"At Chalybes *[2] nudi ferrum, virosaque Pontus
"Castorea *[3]."———

*[1] "Sabaei propter maximam fructuum copiam otiosi socor- "desque vivunt." Strabo, l. XVI. p. 778.

Pliny gives a long and very particular account of the tree which produces Thus, lib. XII. c. xiv.

*² "Chalybes nudi," in opposition to the "molles Sabaei." The Vulcans are represented naked by the painters and statuaries, as well as by the poets.

*³ A strong medicine; and, in particular, a strong soporific: so Lucretius;

"Castoreoque gravi mulier sopita recumbit."
Lib. vi. ver. 794.

It is still much used in medicines; and especially in nervous cases: and as the Romans had it from Pontus, we now have our best from Muscovy, and the most northern countries.

Ver. 63—70.

——— "Terrae
"Pingue *¹ solum primis extemplo a mensibus anni
"Fortes invertant tauri: glebasque jacentes
"Pulverulenta coquat maturis *² solibus aestas.
"At si non fuerit tellus *³ foecunda, sub ipsum
"Arcturum tenui sat erit suspendere sulco:
"Illic officiant laetis ne frugibus herbae;
"Hic sterilem exiguus ne deserat humor arenam."

*¹ Columella giving directions "quo tempore campi arandi "sunt," lays down this rule:—"Colles pinguis soli, peractâ "satione trimestri, mense Martio, si vero tepor coeli, siccitasque "regionis suadebit, Februario statim proscindendi sunt. Deinde "de Aprili medio usque in solstitium iterandi tertiandique." Lib. II. c. iv.—And afterwards at the end of the chapter, gives the same instruction about ploughing poor land, and that for the same reason as Virgil. "Graciles clivi non sunt aestate arandi, "sed circa Septembris calendas, quoniam si ante hoc tempus "proscinditur effoeta & sine succo humus, aestivo sole peruritur, "nullasque virium reliquias habet. Itaque optimè inter Ca- "lendas et Idus Septembris aratur, ac subinde iteratur, ut "primis pluviis aequinoctialibus conseri possit."

*² The word Maturus denotes ripeness and perfection, as a man is said to be Maturus when he is come to his full vigour; and so the sun may be very properly said to be, in the midst of Summer, when he goeth forth in his strength. Petronius, who frequently imitates Virgil in his poem on the Civil War, expresses the same thought by a synonymous term, when speaking of the snow on the Alpes not being melted by the greatest heats, he says;

——— "Non solis adulti
"Mansuescit radiis."———

The rendering Maturus by Maturantibus (as Ruaeus does) quite loses the beauty of this thought.

*[3] Columella says, "Macerrimi et aridi agri post aestatem, "primo Autumno, arandi et subinde conserendi." Lib. XI. c. 2.

VER. 71—78.

"Alternis idem tonsas cessare novales,
"Et segnem patiere situ durescere campum.
"Aut ibi flava seres mutato *[1] sidere *[2] farra;
"Unde prius *[3] laetum siliquâ quassante legumen,
"Aut tenues foetus viciae, tristisque *[4] lupini
"Sustuleris *[5] fragiles calamos, sylvamque sonantem.
"*[6] Urit enim lini campum seges, urit avenae:
"Urunt Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno."

*[1] This may possibly mean, "post alterum mensem," according to the manner of cultivating in the Campania of Naples, where they give their "land very little rest."—Columella observes; "Viciam fabam, et lupinum, novissimis temporibus, "post coactos alios fructus tolli posse." Lib. XI. c. ii.—If we understand "mutato sidere," as Ruaeus does;—"converso "anno," then the land must lie fallow for a year, and this rule differs little from the former, "alternis cessare."—Whereas Virgil seems to mean that, in case the farmer cannot afford to let his ground lie fallow, then he must sow it with such seed as manures the land; or if he is tempted, or has occasion to sow flax, &c., he must well dung his land; and then concludes, that such change of seed is in some measure equivalent to letting the land rest:

———— "Sic quoque requiescunt."

The word Sidus cannot properly be applied to the sun, and, therefore, cannot be used to signify a year. But it means either a sign in the zodiac or some other constellation, and in that sense Virgil often uses it to signify a month or part of the year. As Aen. IV. 309. "Hyberno sidere."—And in the first verse of the Georgics,

"Quo sidere terram vertere."

If it be objected, that a month is too little time from reaping Lupins, etc., to the sowing of corn; we may be justified by the expression, "mutato sidere," to allow near two months (viz.) from the sun's entering one sign to his near leaving the next. And this time may be sufficient, and, I believe, is agreeable to the present practice in Italy, especially near Naples.

*[2] The white wheat is called Carosella.—"Granum rutilum si, "cum diffissum est, eundem colorem interiorem habet, integrum "esse non dubitamus. Quod extrinsecus albidum, intus etiam "conspicitur candidum, leve ac vanum intelligi debet. Nec "nos tanquam optabilis agricolis fallat siligo (the whiteness of

" the bran); nam hoc tritici vitium est; et quamvis candore " praestet, pondere tamen vincitur." Col. Lib. II. c. ix.

*[3] Columella says, " Lupinus maximè ex iis quae seruntur, " juvat arvum."—And again; " Sunt etiam qui putent fabam " vice stercoris fungi; quod sic ego interpretor, ut existimem " non sationibus ejus pinguescere humum, sed minus hanc quàm " caetera semina vim terrae consumere. Nam certum habeo " frumentis utiliorem agrum esse, qui nihil, quam qui istam " siliquam proximo anno tulerit." Lib. II. c. x.

Legumen is a general word, but in this place, as is evident from what follows, one kind only is meant, that is, the Faba, as chief of the Legumes. So Pliny:

" Sequitur natura leguminum inter quae maximus honos " fabae." Lib. XVIII. c. xii.—" Laetum," because (as Pliny says in the same place) " faba solum, in quo sata est, laetificat " stercoris vice."——And that we are to understand the Faba here by Legumen, is clear from another passage in Pliny:

" Virgilius alternis cessare arva suadet, et hoc, si patiantur ruris " spatia, utilissimum proculdubio est. Quod si neget conditio, " far serendum, unde et lupinum, et aut vicia, aut faba sublata " sint, et quae terram faciant laetiorem." Lib. XVIII. c. xxi. —Also in another place: " Segetem stercorant fruges lupinum, " faba, vicia." Lib. XVII. c. ix.

*[4] " Lupinum ab omnibus animalibus amaritudine suâ tutum." Plin. Lib. XVIII. c. xiv.

* The Tristis Lupinus is not our Lupin; but that seed, which they lay a-soak so long in water (to get rid of its bitterness,) and even sell it so in the streets in Italy. It is but a very insipid thing, at best. The Faselus of the Romans is our Lupin.

*[5] Lupins were used to be sown (as they are still) for three different purposes, either to ripen for seed; or to feed cattle when green; or to manure land by ploughing them in before they were ripe. Virgil must necessarily in this place, according to the thread of his discourse, mean the first sort, i. e. Lupins, which grew to be ripe. And therefore the word " sustuleris" is here very expressive; " fragiles calami," and " sylva sonans" denote likewise and enforce this meaning. Varro, Lib. I. c. xxiii. speaks of Lupins sown purposely to manure poor ground. " Quaedam etiam serenda, non tam propter praesentem fructum, " quam in annum prospicientem, quod ibi subsecta atque relicta " terram faciunt meliorem. Itaque lupinum, cum necdum " siliculam cepit, et nonnunquam fabam, si ad siliquas non ita " pervenit, ut fabam legere expediat, si ager macrior est, pro " stercore inarare solent.

*[6] Our farmers, in many places, use a like term. When any thing is blighted, they say, It is scorched.

The Poet does not hereby prohibit the sowing of flax and

oats and poppies, as is manifest, ver. 212, where he prescribes the time for sowing them; but he bids the countrymen observe, that these sorts of seed do not manure and enrich the land as Legumes do, but on the contrary burn it up; and, therefore, when he sows corn after them, which he allows may be done, the land ought first to be well dunged, being to be looked upon as, "arida et effoeta."—These two words make this passage more intelligible than is commonly imagined.

"Lini semen, nisi magnus est ejus in ea regione quam colis "proventus, et pretium proritat, serendum non est, agris enim "praecipue noxium est." Col. lib. II. c. x.—It is plain, notwithstanding what some commentators say, that Columella understands this passage of Virgil in the sense as I have explained it above: for, having quoted these two verses, he adds, "neque "enim dubium quin et iis seminibus infestetur ager, sicut etiam "milio et panico. Sed omni solo, quod, praedictorum leguminum segetibus fatiscit, una praesens medicina est, ut stercore "adjuves, et absumptas vires hoc velut pabulo refoveas." Lib. II. c. xiv.

VER. 79—83.

"Sed tamen *[1] alternis facilis labor arida tantum
"Ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola; neve
"Effoetos *[2] cinerem immundum jactare per agros.
"Sic quoque mutatis requiescunt foetibus arva,
"Nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae."

*[1] Virgil speaking above, ver. 71, of ground lying fallow, uses this word *alternis*. And therefore, I suppose, the commentators explain the word in the same sense here. But it may be observed that it is there joined with *cessare et novale*, and therefore there can be no dispute in that place about the meaning of it. I cannot think that it is to be taken in the same sense here, or that it has any relation to lying fallow, but to the alternate sowing of the seed just before mentioned. For the Poet is now speaking of those, who could not afford, or were unwilling, to let their ground lie fallow:

"Aut ibi flava seres," etc.

He advises such to sow Far immediately after beans, vetches, or lupines, because such pulse enrich the ground, and serve instead of manure. Then he bids them beware of sowing flax, oats, or poppies, because such seeds burn and dry the land. However, he allows even those to be sowed alternately, provided proper care be first taken to dung the land well, which it must require, being thus dried and exhausted:

——— " Arida tantum
" Ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola, neve
" Effoetos cinerem immundum jactare per agros."

The following verse shews, I think, plainly, that the Poet substitutes this change of seed instead of lying fallow, saying it serves in some measure to the same purpose as the rest:

" Sic quoque mutatis requiescunt foetibus arva."

And then, for the encouragement of those who can let their land lie fallow, he concludes, that the farmer ought to consider that some benefit accrues to him, even whilst his land is untilled:

" Nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae."

This, I think, makes the whole connexion clear.

*[2] " Transpadanis cineris usus adeo placet, ut anteponant " fimo jumentorum." Plin. lib. XVII. c. ix.

VER. 84—93.

" Saepe etiam steriles *[1] incendere profuit agros,
" Atque levem *[2] stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis.
" Sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae
" Pinguia concipiunt: sive illis omne per ignem
" Excoquitur vitium, atque exsudat inutilis humor:
" Seu plures calor ille vias, et caeca relaxat
" Spiramenta, novas veniat quâ succus in herbas:
" Seu durat magis, et venas astringit hiantes:
" Ne tenues pluviae, rapidive potentia solis
" Acrior, aut Boreae penetrabile frigus adurat."

*[1] Virgil is so concise in his rules, that he seldom uses two different phrases to express the same thing: and, therefore, probably, two sorts of burnings are meant here; but it does not follow that Bakeburning (as Dr. Martyn imagines) is one of them. I rather think that he means, by " steriles agros," burning bushes, weeds, and brambles on ground which had long lain unmanured, and then stubble, as in the second verse.

*[2] The burning the stubble, etc. upon the land, is still practised in Italy, and begins in the month of August, the day after St. Laurence: and various reasons are still given for doing it. Fontanini, in his Antiquities of Orta, speaking of the life of Cardinal Ferdinand Nuptio, gives us a remarkable instance of the regard still paid to the foregoing verses, and what an influence they had in continuing the custom of burning the Campagna of Rome.——" Jo. Maria Lancisius, qui apud Clementem Unde-

"cimum Pont. Max. non parum gratiae et auctoritatis sibi "comparaverat, ad avertendum ardentissimum aestum ex in-"cendio stipularum urbi imminentem, Pontifici suasit, imò "etiam persuasit, ut publico edicto stipulas agri Romani am-"plius incendi vetaret. Interim accidit fortè fortuna (Card.) "Nuptium de rebus suum munus spectantibus ad Pontificem "adire, ex cujus ore, quum decreti mox vulgandi consilium "accepisset, illud pro candore animi sui probare non potuit. "Morem comburendi agri Romani stipulas longè antiquissi-"mum; optimosque effectus, qui inde consequerentur, osten-"dit; recitatis extemplo (decem hisce) Virgilii carminibus; "quibus Pontificem à sententiâ facilè revocavit." Antiquitat. Hortae, lib. III. c. ii.

† It might be from this custom that the Poets take their frequent similes from corn-burning. Virg. Aen. II. ver. 304.—Ov. Ep. XV. ver. 9. and in several other places.

They never do this, but when there is a brisk wind; they stand to the windward and set fire to the stubble; and it is surprising to see, in how little a time it runs over a whole field of corn. You plainly see the fire gain and run on continually, though at a considerable distance. We saw it in August, 1741, in the south of France, to perfection: as it was the hottest season of the year, and as they had no rains there for three or four months, every thing was so dry that the fire ran with its greatest rapidity.

Ver. 94—99.

"Multum adeo, *[1] rastris glebas qui frangit inertes,
"Vimineasque *[2] trahit crates, juvat arva; neque illum
"Flava *[3] Ceres alto nequicquam spectat Olympo:
"Et qui, proscisso quae suscitat aequore terga,
"Rursus in obliquum verso *[4] perrumpit aratro:
"Exercetque *[5] frequens tellurem, atque imperat arvis."

*[1] Quaer. If *rastra* is any where joined with *trahere?* I believe not. It was, as I imagine, a hand instrument, as a rake.

*[2] Our countrymen would scarce understand what is meant by Vimineae Crates: but such are still used in Italy, more than harrows, for smoothing land.—They first break the clods with bats, and then lay it smooth by drawing hurdles over it, which Columella expresses thus:—"Glebas sarculis resolvere, et inductâ crate coaequare." Lib. II. c. xviii. The breaking clods with bats is practised in some parts of England in stiff ground, and is termed Balling.

*[3] This thought, perhaps, is taken from some celebrated painting or bas-relief.——† Much in the manner, I suppose, that she is represented in the picture, answering this place, in the famous Vatican Virgil. See Pol. VIII. III.

—— Φιλέη δὲ εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ.
Hesiod. Op. et Dies, ver. 300.

*[4] I observed before, verse 50, on the word Scindimus, that Virgil used the proper term of art. Perrumpit, if not the proper term, is at least of the same importance, as we learn from Varro: "Quod primâ aratione glebae grandes solent excitari; cum iteratur, offringere vocant." Lib. I. c. xxix.—Columella expresses this ploughing by, "Transversis adversisque sulcis." Lib. III. c. xiii.

*[2] "Compluribus iterationibus sic resolvatur vervactum in "pulverem, ut vel nullam vel exiguam desideret occationem "cum seminaverimus." Col. Lib. II. c. iv.

Exercet and Imperat are metaphors taken from military discipline.

VER. 100—103.

"Humida *[1] solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas,
"Agricolae: hiberno laetissima pulvere farra,
"Laetus ager: nullo tantum se *[2] Mysia cultu
"Jactat, et ipsa suas mirantur *[3] Gargara messes.

*[1] Ovid makes Solstitium to signify expressly the summer solstice only, and Bruma the winter: for, complaining that all time during his banishment seemed long, "et lentis passibus "ire;" he thus expresses himself,

"Nec mihi solstitium quicquam de noctibus aufert,
"Efficit angustos nec mihi bruma dies."
De Trist. Lib. V. El. xi.

† Fluvius Novanus *omnibus solstitiis* torrens, *Brumâ* siccatur. Plin. Lib. II. c. ciii.

*[2] Columella mentions Mysia and Libya, "uti largis abun-"dantes frumentis." Lib. III. c. viii.

*[3] As there was little good husbandry in Mysia, and their good crops were owing to their climate, the Poet very prettily adds,

——— "Ipsa suas mirantur Gargara messes."

VER. 104—110.

"Quid dicam, jacto qui semine cominus *[1] arva
"Insequitur, cumulosque ruit male pinguis *[2] arenae?
"Deinde *[3] satis fluvium inducit, rivosque sequentes?
"Et cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,
"† Ecce, supercilio clivosi tramitis undam
"Elicit: illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
"Saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva."

*[1] It appears by this that balling was repeated after sowing. They turned the earth over the seed with the plough, and then broke the clods which remained.—Varro observes that this breaking of clods after sowing was practised only upon little farms, not upon such extensive lands as were in Apulia. "Segetes non tam latas habent ut in Apuliâ, id genus praedii per "sarritores occare solent, si quae in porcis grandiores relictae "sunt glebae." Lib. I. c. xxx.

*[2] I cannot think, with Ruaeus, that Virgil ever uses Arena for any sort of land indifferently.——The instances produced by Ruaeus himself shew the contrary. The lands of Aegypt and Arabia, though fat and rich, were loose; and Columella compares the land of Aegypt to "Cinis soluta." Lib. II. c. ii. ver. 25.

Virgil is here speaking of dry land, which wanted water, and therefore might properly be called Arena: and, "male pinguis," as not being loose like the land in Aegypt, but having some parts so clotted together, as required to be broken to pieces.

*[3] See observations on Iliad XXI. ver. 289, Mr. Pope's translation.

† This is particularly well practised in Italy at present; at least in gardens. I have seen of them there, which (from a great channel, cut directly from the place, where the water wells, and veined into a vast number of little ones) are supplied with water round every the minutest bed in it, from only taking up the hatch at the reservoir.

This was used in their gardens too of old:

"Est mihi foecundus dotalibus hortus in agris:
"Aura fovet; liquidae *fonte* rigatur aquae."
Ov. Fast. V.

"Et dare quas *sitiens* jam bibat hortus aquas."
Id. de Pont. I.

"Irriguae dabitur non mihi *sulcus* aquae.
Id. Fragm. ver. 166.

———— "Puteusque brevis, *nec reste movendus*,
"In tenues plantas facili diffunditur haustu."
Juv. Sat. III.

"Jam resonant frondes; jam cantibus obstrepat arbos;
"I procul, O Dorida, primumque reclude canalem;
"Et sine jamdudum sitientes irriget hortos."
Calphurnius, Ecl. II. ver. 97.

VER. 113, 114.

———————————— "* Quique paludis
"Collectum humorem bibulâ deducit arenâ?"

* Who drains the collected moisture of the marsh from the soaking sand. Dr. Martyn.——Quaer. If " bibulâ arenâ" may not rather mean, sand thrown on moist ground and mixed with it; in order to correct it, and suck up the superfluous moisture?

Ver. 118—124.

" Nec tamen (haec cum sint hominumque boumque labores
" Versando terram experti) nihil improbus * anser,
" Strymoniaeque *[1] grues, et amaris *[2] intuba fibris
" Officiunt, aut umbra nocet. Pater ipse colendi
" Haud *[3] facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
" Movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda:
" Nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno."

* Virgil speaks of the geese, as a troublesome bird; and very pernicious to the corn. They are still so, in flocks, in the Campania Felice; the country which Virgil had chiefly in his eye, when he was writing his Georgics:

*[1] " Strymona sic gelidum, brumâ pellente, relinquunt
" Poturae te, Nile, grues." Lucan V. 711.

See other places of the same Author.

*[2] " Est et erraticum intubum, quod in Aegypto Cichorium vocant. Plin. lib. XIX. c. viii. This is still called Cichorio at Rome, and is very much eaten by the common people, and is esteemed a very wholesome salad. But the outside being remarkably bitter, they are obliged to strip off the skin and therewith the fibres (which are the bitterest part) in order to make it eatable. In the season of the year one sees people stripping this cichory at every herbstall in Rome: and, it is probable, that this is hinted at by Virgil in his " amaris fibris."—Pliny celebrates it as a wholesome herb, lib. XX. c. viii.

*[3] See Hesiod Op. et Dies, from verse 42 to 52.

" Surely there was some tradition even among the Heathens " of God's curse, that man should eat his bread in the sweat of " his face." Sharrock's Hist. of Vegetables, c. i.

Ver. 127, 128.

——————" * Ipsaque tellus
" Omnia liberius, nullo poscente, ferebat."

——— * Καρπὸν δ' ἔφερε ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
'Αυτομάτη πολλόν τε καὶ ἄφθονον.

Hesiod. Op. et D. ver. 118.

Ver. 133. 134.

" Ut varias * usus meditando extunderet artes
" Paulatim."————

* This is usually rendered here Experientia, but I should rather take the word in its vulgar sense, for use and conveniency: for Virgil certainly means that man being left to himself, the necessaries of life forced him to rack his thoughts and industry to discover, by little and little, that variety of arts we have in the world.

It may likewise signify—frequent trial, or experiments—for in that sense Virgil uses the same word, Georg. II. ver. 22.

——— " Quos ipse viâ sibi repperit usus."

" Meditando, extunderet, paulatim:" Every word requires an emphasis.

VER. 143.

" Tum * ferri rigor, atque argutae lamina serrae."

* How much more beautiful are these expressions than if he had said, " ferrum rigidum et arguta serra?"

VER. 145.

——— " Labor omnia vicit
" Improbus."———

* Continuus.

" Ingenti fruor, improboque somno,
" Quem nec tertia saepe rumpit hora;
" Et totum mihi nunc repono, quicquid
" Ter denos vigilaveram per annos."

Mart. Lib. XII. Ep. xviii.

VER. 147—149.

" Prima Ceres ferro mortales vertere terram
" Instituit: cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacrae
" Deficerent sylvae, et victum * Dodona negaret."

* " Primis frugibus altrix Dodona."

Lucan. Lib. VI. ver. 426.

VER. 150—154.

" Mox et frumentis labor additus: ut mala culmos
" Esset robigo, segnisque *[1] horreret in arvis
" Carduus: intereunt segetes, subit aspera sylva,
" Lappaeque *[2] tribulique. interque nitentia culta
" Infelix *[3] lolium et steriles dominantur *[4] avenae."

*[1] Dr. Martyn well observes, that Horreret is very properly applied to the Thistle, which is horribly armed all over with prickles. His interpretation of *segnis* is not so easy. He ventures, he says, with Mr. Benson, to translate it *lazy*, believing Virgil called the Thistle lazy, because none but a lazy husband-

man would suffer so pernicious a weed to infest his corn. This is a new sort of metaphor I am not acquainted with.—May not *segnis* be put by way of apposition to *horreret?* a worthless good-for-nothing weed, looking fierce and making a terrible figure, is a good contrast.

*[2] Tribulus is a sort of thistle, so called probably ἀπὸ τριῶν βολῶν: not that it has only three points, but which ever way it points, it shews three spears. In like manner as the Tribulus used in war, and described by Vegetius, lib. IV. c. xxiv.

*[3] It is a common opinion in Italy that the Loglio, (or Gioglio, as the country people usually call it,) if mixed with the corn in making bread, especially that sort which grows upon the mountains, will make people mad.—Quaer. If the like opinion might not have prevailed formerly, and occasion this epithet *infelix?*—* et † They are both like corn; which is the worse, because the Lolium, in particular, is of a malignant nature. The antients thought it bad for the eyes.

"Et careant loliis oculos vitiantibus agri;
"Nec sterilis culto surgat avena solo:"

is part of Ovid's prayer, Fast. I. ver. 691.

"Mirum est lolio victitare te tam vili tritico.
"P. Quid jam? S. Quia luscitiosus. P. Aedepol tu quidem
"Caecus, non luscitiosus." Plaut. Mil. Glor.

The modern Italians have yet a worse notion of it. They say of a Melancolico, "A mangiato di pane con loglio."—"Da questi mali effetti del loglio, abbiamo un proverbio che "dice, Io non dormo nel loglio: che significa, Io non son "malordo." Note on Malmantile Racquistato, Cant. VI. Stan. 25.

*[4] Pliny in his chapter, "De vitiis frugum," says, "Primum "omnium frumenti vitium avena est, sicut ipsa frumenti sit "instar. Soli maximè coelique humore hoc evenit vitium." Hist. lib. XVIII. c. 17.

Ver. 160—166.

"Dicendum et quae sint duris agrestibus arma:
"Queis sine, nec potuere seri, nec surgere messes.
"Vomis et inflexi primum grave robur aratri,
"*[1] Tardaque Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra,
"*[2] Tribulaque, traheaeque, et iniquo pondere *[3] rastri:
"Virgea praeterea *[4] Celei vilisque supellex,
"Arbuteae crates, et mystica * vannus Iacchi."

*[1] The common waggons in Italy, especially in Virgil's own country, are still very heavy and move slow. Virgil gives

dignity to them, and makes them worthy a place in his poem, by making them sacred to Ceres, alluding to the waggons used at her solemn feasts at Eleusis. The verse is suitable to the pompous procession; and, as Mr. Pope finely observes, on a like occasion—

" The line too labours, and the words move slow."

With such majesty Virgil speaks, when he only orders the husbandmen to provide harvest-carts!

*[2] Pliny, reckoning up the different sorts of instruments made use of to rub out corn, mentions the Tribulum among others. " Messis alibi tribulis in areâ, alibi equarum gressibus " exteritur, alibi perticis flagellatur." Lib. XVIII. c. xxx.

See Mons. Thevenot's account of the sledge, now made use of in Persia, for rubbing corn out of the ear, in his Voyages.

See likewise a description and draught of the same in Paul Lucas's Journey from Constantinople to Adrianople, Tom. I. chap. xxiv. of his Second Voyage.

*[3] That the ancients commonly made use of rakes with iron teeth appears by a passage in Col. lib. II. c. xi.; where, giving instructions about the sowing Medica, he says: " Quod ubi " feceris, *ligneis rastris*, id enim multum confert, statim jacta " semina obruantur: nam celerrimè sole aduruntur. Post " sationem ferro tangi locus non debet. Atque, ut dixi, *ligneis* " *rastris* sarriendus, et identidem runcandus est."—This repetition of a particular instruction about covering Medica with wooden rakes shews that iron ones were commonly used for covering other seed.

*[4] See the account of Celeus the father of Triptolemus, Ovid. Fast. iv. 507.

* The persons, who were initiated into any of the antient mysteries, were to be particularly good: they looked upon themselves as separated from the vulgar of mankind; and as dedicated to a life of singular virtue and piety. This may be the reason that the Fan or Van (the Mystica Vannus Iacchi) was used in initiations: The instrument that separates the wheat from the chaff, being as proper an emblem as can well be, of setting apart the good and virtuous, from the wicked or useless part of mankind.——† In the drawings of the antient paintings by Bellori, there are two that seem to relate to initiations; and each of them has the Vannus in it. In one of them, the person that is initiating stands in a devout posture, and with a veil on, the old mark of devotion; while two, that were formerly initiated, hold the Van over his head. In the other, there is a person holding a Van, with a young infant in it. The latter may signify much the same with the Scripture-expression of entering into a state of virtue "as a little child," (Mark x. 15.) as the

Van itself puts one in mind of another text, relating to a particular purity of life; and the separation of the Good from the Bad. "Whose Fan is in his hand, and he shall thoroughly "purge his floor; and will gather the Wheat into his garner, "but the Chaff he will burn with fire unquenchable." Luke iii. 17.

VER. 169—174.

"Continuo in sylvis magnâ vi flexa domatur
"In burim, et curvi formam accipit ulmus *[1] aratri.
"Huic à stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,
"Binae *[2] aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso,
"Caeditur et tilia ante jugo levis, altaque fagus,
"*[3] Stivaque, quae currus à tergo *[4] torqueat imos."

*[1] In the kingdom of Naples they sometimes call all the wood of the plough from the point of the handle to the share Ventale, by corruption from Dentale; but properly it is that part only to which the share is fixed.

The share is called Gomere, and is made with two corners jutting out, and rising in the middle with a back called Schiena.

The plough used in seed-time is made with two ears, or side-boards, called Orecchie, which are necessary to turn the earth over the seed when sown.

*[2] Palladius [one of the old Writers on Agriculture], speaking of the instruments of husbandry, describes two sorts of ploughs, the Simplicia and Aurita, and tells us, that the use of the latter was to raise the ridge higher and make a deeper furrow, in order to throw off the water in a flat deep country. "Aratra Simplicia: vel, si plana regio permittit, Aurita, "quibus possint contra Stationes humoris hyberni Sata cel-"siore sulco attolli." Lib. I. Tit. 43.

*[3] Stiva is rather a foot-board on which the Ploughmen in Italy, even at this day, usually stand to guide the plough. 'Tis probably so called à Stando.——Vid. Columella, l. I. c. ix. 2. "In re rusticâ nullo minus opere fatigatur prolixior, "quia in arando stivae pene rectus innititur."

——"Innixus stivae arator." Ovid. Met. l. VIII. 44.

Buris is that part of the plough which the ploughman holds.

*[4] Q. If this does not mean when the plough comes to the end of a furrow? for then the ploughman is chiefly employed, "torquere aratrum:" and then, in the kingdom of Naples, he twists the cord round a stick fixed to the handle, and sits upon it, in order the better to turn the plough. See Columella.

"Magnâ vi domatur ulmus—Alta fagus caeditur—Currus "torqueat"—are all expressions used to ennoble the description.

This description of a plough, according to Servius's inter-

pretation of it, would not deserve great commendation, being, I think, if we believe his comment, very lame; for he makes the Poet omit entirely a principal part of the plough, which is the share, and describe another part twice, making Buris and Stiva to signify the same thing, viz., the crooked part of the plough, which is that which the ploughman holds.

VER. 178—180.

" Area *[1] cum primis ingenti aequanda cylindro,
" Et vertenda manu, et cretâ solidanda tenaci;
" Ne subeant herbae, neu pulvere victa *[2] fatiscat."

*[1] Varro gives the following instructions: " Aream esse " oportet solidâ terrâ pavitam, maxime si est argilla, ne aestu " paeminosa, in rimis ejus grana oblitescant, et recipiant aquam, " et ostia aperiant muribus ac formicis." Lib. I. c. li.

*[2] Fatiscere signifies sometimes to chop or cleave; and sometimes likewise to be fatigued, or worn out: in this place it may be understood in its largest sense, in both meanings.

VER. 183.

" Aut † oculis capti fodere cubilia talpae."

† This was the vulgar opinion. Galen knew otherwise: and the microscope has fully discovered it in our times. See Derham's Physico-Theol. p. 92. note (*m*).

VER. 185.

———" Populatque ingentem farris acervum
" * Curculio."———

* The common people at Lyons use the name of Gourgillon for a small brown fly, in shape like a beetle, which is frequently found in beans: in the other parts of France, they call it Calendre; in English, Weevil.—Pliny calls this creature Gurgulionem, lib. XVIII. c. xxx.

Q. If this worm is not so called from its shape being formed like the gullet, which the word signifies in its primary signification?—See the figure of it in Redi, Tab. xv.

VER. 193—196.

*[1] " Semina vidi equidem multos medicare serentes,
" Et nitro prius et nigrâ perfundere amurcâ;
" Grandior ut foetus siliquis fallacibus esset,
" *[2] Et quamvis igni exiguo properata maderent."

*[1] Though Virgil uses the general word Semina, yet by the reasons alleged, " Grandior ut foetus," etc., he seems to mean Legumes only; and though Varro, lib. I. c. lvii. says,

that Wheat was sometimes medicated, yet he intimates that this was done rarely; and that it was chiefly practised for Legumes:—and Columella, lib. II. c. x. makes this passage relate to the Bean only. "Priscis autem rusticis, nec minus Virgilio, "prius amurcâ vel nitro macerari fabam, et ita seri placuit." And then adds these two verses, "Laetior ut foetus," etc. putting Laetior instead of Grandior.

*[2] These two verses in most of the editions are very ill pointed. There ought to be a full stop at Maderent, and only a comma at Esset. The mistake is owing to the not understanding the second verse, the meaning of which is undoubtedly this; That one advantage arising from steeping beans in nitrous water is that they boil the sooner and grow tender over a little fire.—Palladius mentions the same effect: "Graeci asserunt fabae "semina aquâ pridie infusa citius nasci, nitratâ aquâ respersa "cocturam non habere difficilem." Lib. XII. De re rust. Tit. i.—Q. If Maderent will not admit the construction, becoming tender?—Columella uses the word Madescere in the same sense on the like occasion, lib. XI. c. iii. where, giving directions how to manage the cabbage-plant in transplanting it, he adds: "Haec res efficit, ut in cocturâ celerius madescat;" that is certainly, that it may be tender with less boiling.

VER. 197—200.

"*[1] Vidi lecta diu, et multo spectata labore,
"Degenerare tamen; ni vis humana quotannis
"Maxima quaeque manu legeret: sic omnia fatis
"In pejus ruere, ac retro sublapsa referri."

*[1] This latter part of the precept, Columella observes, is more extensive. "Hoc non tantùm de seminibus leguminum, "sed in totam agricolationis rationem dictum esse, intelligen- "dum est." Lib. III. c. x. And to the same purpose, Lib. II. c. ix. in both which places he quotes these four verses.

*[2] Columella, Lib. II. c. ix. having given instructions "de "medicandis seminibus," proceeds thus: "Illud deinceps "praecipiendum habeo, ut demessis segetibus jam in areâ futuro "semini consulamus. Optimam quamque spicam legere oportet, "separatimque ex eâ semen reponere." And much more to this purpose. And then adds: "Quia frumenta degenerant, "nisi cura talis adhibeatur." And concludes: "Ideoque "Virgilius cum et alia, tum et hoc de seminibus praeclarè sic "disseruit: Vidi ego lecta diu," etc.

VER. 204—207.

"Praeterea tam sunt * Arcturi sidera nobis
"Hoedorumque dies fervandi, et lucidus Anguis;

"Quam quibus in patriam ventosa per aequora vectis
"Pontus et ostriferi fauces tentantur Abydi."

* Pliny calls Arcturus, Orion, and the Hoedi, "horrida sidera." Lib. XVIII. c. xxviii. And Ovid, describing the terrors of his banishment, says:

"Saepe ego nimbosis dubius jactabar ab Hoedis,
"Saepe minax Steropis sidere pontus erat,
"Fuscabatque diem custos Erymanthidos ursae."
Trist. lib. I. Eleg. ult.

Ovid declares, in the same Elegy, that he was in the Adriatic going into banishment in December.

VER. 210—211.

"Exercete, viri, tauros, serite hordea campis,
"Usque sub * extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem."

* This must certainly mean, "to the very beginning of the "time properly called Bruma," not to the end of it, as commonly rendered; for during that time no tillage was to be undertaken, which Virgil means by his Intractabilis.—'Tis evident from Cato, Varro, and Columella, that the Romans were very scrupulous of sowing or tilling their ground in the dead of Winter.—Columella particularly, lib. XI. c. ii., speaking of the latter end of the month of December, says: "His "diebus qui religiosiùs rem rusticam colunt, nisi si vinearum "causâ pastines, negant debere terram ferro commoveri. "Itaque quicquid citra id genus effici potest, id ab his com-"prehenditur, ut olea legatur, et oleum conficiatur," etc.— "Nonnulli etiam legumina serunt." Then proceeding from the Calends of January to the Ides, he says: "Per hos quoque "dies abstinent terrenis operibus religiosiores agricolae, ita "tamen ut ipsis kalen. Januariis auspicandi causâ omne genus "operis instaurent. Caeterùm differant terrenam molitionem "usque in proximas idus."———According to the common acceptation of this verse, the word Intractabilis, which is very significant, would be very improper, to say no worse of it: and therefore, to avoid the force of it, Ruaeus renders it only Durae.———"Usque sub extremum imbrem," may perhaps carry this image in it; till you come near or under the very skirts of the Winter-showers.——What Columella observes above, "Nonnulli etiam legumina serunt," explains what Virgil says afterwards, ver. 227.

"Si verò viciamque seres," etc.

About these sorts of seed, which are of less consequence, they

were not so scrupulous. They did venture sometimes to continue sowing them till the middle of Bruma.

VER. 212—214.

" Necnon et lini segetem et cereale papaver
" Tempus humo tegere; et *[1] jamdudum incumbere aratris:
" Dum *[2] siccâ tellure licet, dum *[3] nubila pendent."

*[1] This adverb is commonly joined to express great ardency, and Empressement, as the French call it.——See other parts in Virgil; and Lucan. iv. 545.

——" Nec plura locuto
" Viscera non unus jamdudum transigit ensis."

*[2] Whilst the ground still continues dry.——This is well observed, especially with respect to Hordeum.——" Hordeum " nisi solutum et siccum locum non patitur," says Columella, lib. II. c. ix. And again: " Siligo et far adoreum post continuos imbres, si necessitas exigat, quamvis adhuc limoso et " madente solo sparseris, injuriam sustinent. Ordeum, si lutoso " commiseris, emoritur."

*[3] Because the sooner it rains after sowing the better.—— " Ut semina consita rigataque imbribus celeriter prodeant et " confirmentur ante hiemis violentiam." Col. lib. II. c. xi.

VER. 215, 216.

" Vere fabis satio: tum te quoque, medica *[1], putres,
" Accipiunt sulci, et milio venit annua *[2] cura."

*[1] " Locum, in quo medicam proximo vere saturus es, pro- " scindito circa Calendas Octobris; et eum totâ hieme *putres-* " *cere* sinito." Col. lib. II. c. xi.

*[2] Annua, on account of Medica before named; which, as Columella asserts: " Cum semel seritur, decem annis durat." Lib. II. c. xi.——Cura too requires its particular emphasis; for Columella observes of it: " Frequenter exigit sarritionem et runcationem, ut herbis liberetur." Lib. II. c. ix.——And Palladius directs: " Ut herbis liberetur assiduè." Lib. IV. Tit. 3.

VER. 217, 218.

* " Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
" Taurus, et adverso cedens canis occidit astro."

* Commentators are much divided about the reading and explanation of this passage. The common reading is Adverso; which not being well understood, Ruaeus and others read Averso, but still are puzzled in explaining it. In my opinion, the whole difficulty lies in their making Canis the nominative case to

Occidit, whereas I think it the genitive, the second verse relating to Taurus as well as the first, and then the whole will run thus: " Cùm candidus Taurus aperit annum auratis cornibus, et occidit cedens adverso astro Canis."——The design of these two verses is to shew the proper season for sowing Milet, and perhaps Medica too, which, in my opinion, Virgil says is from the 1st of April to the Ides or 13th of the same month. That the beginning of April is signified by the first verse, " Candidus auratis," 'tis generally agreed; and I think that the Ides are plainly meant by the latter, " Cum Taurus " occidit." But, to set this matter in a clear light, let us inquire what was reckoned the time of the setting of Taurus, and what the proper season for sowing Milet. Columella, lib. XI. De re rustica, c. ii. (which is a sort of Farmer's Almanack) says: " Pridie idus Aprilis Suculae celantur." The stars in the Bull's head are hid from us the 12th of April. And, in the same chapter, directing what is to be done at the beginning of April, he says: " Milii quoque et Panici haec prima satio est, " quae peragi debet circa Idus Aprilis." Here we find Columella and Virgil agree very exactly, both as to the beginning and end of the season for sowing Milet. The one directs simply as a Farmer, the other as a Poet. And as Virgil adorns his first verse by an allusion to the ancient sacrifices, in Candidus and Auratis Cornibus; and by the latter expression points out the two bright stars which tip the horns of Taurus; and likewise hints at the etymology of the name Aprilis in the word Aperit: so he beautifies the second verse from the natural enmity between the Bull and Dog; and represents the Bull when setting as yielding to his adversary the Dog, who still remains above as it were victorious. (See the Bull and the Dog on the Farnesian Globe.)——Taking the two verses thus, the expressions are very poetical, and yet the construction easy, without distorting any word from its proper signification, or changing a letter.

Palladius likewise, in his month Aprilis, tit. I. says, " Aprili " mense in areis, quas ante, sicut diximus, praeparasti, medica serenda est." And, tit. II. " Nunc locis mediocriter siccis " milium serimus et panicum."

Hesiod speaks of the setting of the Pleiades, and their flying the fury of Orion, as Virgil of the Bull yielding to the Dog.

Εὖτ' ἂν Πληϊάδες, σθένος ὄβριμον Ὠρίωνος
Φεύγουσαι, πίπτωσιν ἐς ἠεροειδέα πόντον.

Op. et Dies, lib. II. ver. 237.

As Virgil before takes in the whole season for barley sowing, from the autumnal equinox to the fall of the winter rains; and directs the season for flax, and poppy, as long as it continues

dry after the equinox; so likewise here he sets down both the beginning and ending of the seed-time for beans, medica, and milet.

VER. 219—224.

" At si triticeam in messem robustaque farra
" Exercebis humum, solisque instabis aristis:
" Ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur *[1],
" Gnosiaque *[2] ardentis decedat stella coronae;
" Debita quam sulcis committas semina, quamque
" *[3] Invitae properes anni spem credere terrae."

*[1] Columella, in his tenth book of Agriculture, which is a poem on gardening, mentions these two constellations together in imitation of Virgil, and expressly declares, that he means the setting of the Pleiades in the morning, which he intimates to be near the beginning of winter:

" Expectetur hiems, dum Bacchi Gnossius ardor
" Aequore caeruleo celetur, vertice mundi,
" Solis et adversos metuant Atlantides ortus."

Columella in another place, explaining this passage of Virgil, tells us expressly, That this is about the ninth of the Calends of November. " Absconduntur Atlantides altero et trigesimo die " post autumnale aequinoctium, quod fere conficitur nono " kalend. Octob. Propter quod intelligi debet tritici satio " dierum sex et quadraginta ab occasu Vergiliarum, qui fit ante " diem nonum kal. Novemb. ad brumae tempora." Lib. II. c. viii.

*[2] The brightest star of the Crown is the first of that constellation that sets, and therefore, perhaps, this ought to be rendered, " Ardensque decedat stella Gnosiae coronae."—Or it may be, that the whole constellation is termed *ardens*, because it appears all the hot months.

*[3] Several commentators have mistaken the meaning of this epithet. Virgil does not apply it to the earth as unwilling to receive seed at any time till forced by the plough, but he uses this word to enforce the meaning of Properes—As if he should say, that when the husbandman hastens to sow before the proper season, the earth, at such time, receives the seed unwillingly, for fear she should disappoint the husbandman, and not repay what is committed to her trust. The words Debita, Committere, and Credere, shew that Virgil alludes to a trust. —In the second Georgic, ver. 460, Virgil gives the earth the character of Justissima.

VER. 227—230.

" Si verò *[1] viciamque seres, vilemque *[2] faselum,
" Nec Pelusiacae curam aspernabere *[3] lentis;

"Haud obscura cadens mittet tibi signa Bootes:
"Incipe, et ad medias sementem *[4] extende pruinas."

*[1] "Viciae duae sationes sunt; prima quam pabuli causâ "circa aequinoctium autumnale serimus, secunda quam mense "Januario, vel etiam seriùs, jacimus semini progenerando." Col. lib. II. c. xi.

*[2] "Circa finem Septembris faseolus ad escam seritur. Nam "ad praecipendum semen ultimâ parte Octobris, circa kalendas "Novembris melius obruitur." Lib. XI. c. ii.—Virgil means only the latter sowing, what is intended for seed.

*[3] Martial calls the Lens, Niliacam; and "Pelusia munera:" and says of it, that it was "vilior algâ:" and to shew how vile and contemptible the Faba was, he says in the same place, "Carior illa fabâ."

"Accipe Niliacam, Pelusia munera, lentem;
"Vilior est algâ, carior illa fabâ." Lib. XIII. Ep. ix.

*[4] What I have remarked above, ver. 211, shews this word to be very expressive.

VER. 259—263.

"Frigidus agricolam si quando continet imber;
"Multa, *[1] forent quae mox caelo properanda sereno,
"*[2] Maturare datur: durum procudit arator
"Vomeris obtusi dentem, cavat arbore lintres;
"Aut pecori signum, aut numeros † impressit acervis."

*[1] Columella directs the doing of these in the month of January, during the time that they were hindered from other work. "Mense Jan. ridicis vel etiam palis conficiendis ido- "neum tempus est." Lib. XI. c. ii.—And afterwards, "His "etiam diebus maturi agni, et reliqui foetus pecudum, nec "minus majora quadrupedia charactere signari debent."—Virgil's advice is more general.

*[2] As the genuine signification of Maturus is ripe, as fruit which comes leisurely to perfection, so Maturare is opposed to Properare—doing a thing in perfection, to hurrying it over slovenly.

† The Caesars impressed their whole names, at once, on their grants and letters; and this was so common, that even the shepherds impressed their names on their cattle:

———"Vivi quoque pondera melle
"Argenti coquito, lentumque bitumen aheno,
"Impressurus ovi tua nomina; nam tibi lites
"Auferet ingentes lectus possessor in arvo."—
Calphurnius, Ecl. V. ver. 85. See Georg. III. ver. 158.

This was a sort of Printing; and I wonder much how they came not to find out that art sooner: for it was as easy to impress a whole line, as two words; and a page, as a whole line. Had they gone but these two easy steps farther, it would have been just what the Chinese Printing is now.

Ver. 264—265.

" Exacuunt alii vallos, furcasque bicornes,
" Atque * Amerina parant lentae retinacula viti."

* Tria sunt genera praecipuè Salicis, Graecae, Gallicae, Sabinae, " Quam plurimi vocant Amerinam." Col. lib. IV. c. xxx.

Ver. 266, 267.

" Nunc facilis rubeâ texatur fiscina virgâ:
" Nunc * torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo."

* The Romans used to dry their corn on a kiln, before they ground it: and it is probable that they were obliged by an old law to do it; for Pliny tells us, " Numa instituit far torrere, " quoniam tostum cibo salubrius esset. Id uno modo consecu- " tum statuendo, non esse purum ad rem divinam nisi tostum." L. XVIII. c. ii. And Ovid, speaking of the Fornacalia, says:

" Facta Dea est Fornax; laeti fornace coloni
" Orant, ut fruges temperet illa suas." Fast. lib. ii.

And Festus.—" Fornacalia feriae institutae sunt farris tor- " rendi gratiâ; quod ad fornacem, quae in pistrinis erat, sacri- " ficium fieri solebat." By which it is plain, that the Fornax, and Bakehouse, were differently used. They first dried their corn, then ground it, and then baked it; the poorer sort on the hearth, the richer at the bakehouse. Virgil speaks only of the two former, which, he says, may be done in wet weather, when they are hindered from working without doors. The latter must be done as there is occasion, whether wet or dry; and therefore cannot be supposed to be mentioned here.—That it was a custom among the antients, to bake their bread in cakes upon the hearth, is plain from Ovid. Fast.

" Suppositum cineri panem focus ipse parabat,
" Strataque erat tepido tegula quassa solo."

This we gather likewise from the widow's cake in the Scriptures.——In Wales, and several other places, they still make bread in this manner. Varro expressly directs the drying, and grinding or pounding of Far, in the winter, in order to have it ready for use, as occasion required: " Far quod in spicis " condideris per messem, et ad usus cibatûs expedire velis, pro-

"mendum *hieme*, ut in pistrino pisetur ac torreatur." Lib. I. c. lxiii. And again; "Messum far promendum *hieme* in "pistrino ad torrendum, quod ad cibatum expeditum esse "velis." C. lxix.

VER. 268—272.

"Quippe etiam festis quaedam exercere diebus
"Fas et jura sinunt: rivos deducere nulla
"Religio vetuit, segeti praetendere sepem,
"Insidias avibus moliri, incendere vepres,
"Balantumque * gregem fluvio mersare salubri."

* Balantum has its beauty in this place, because sheep on washing bleat more than ordinarily: and Salubri is added, as Columella observes, because it was not allowed to wash sheep on holidays, unless "Medicinae gratiâ."

VER. 273—275.

"Saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli
"Vilibus aut onerat pomis: *[1] lapidemque revertens,
"*[2] Incusum, aut atrae massam *[3] picis urbe reportat."

*[1] I very much question whether Virgil means here a mill-stone. Ovid in his account of the Vestalia in his Fasti calls "Mola scabra et pumicea," which is a proper description of the roughness of a mill-stone, but "lapis incusus" gives us but an imperfect idea of it, and, I think, does by no means answer. Quaer. If it may not rather mean a mortar, or such like hollowed stone, in which the poorer people used to break their corn after they had dried it? as appears by what is said before;

"Nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo."

It is manifest, by the whole passage, that the poet is speaking here of the poorer sort of country people.

"Ante inventum molarum usum, frumenta in pilâ commi-"nuebantur. Pilae autem erant vasa concava, in quae antiqui "siccata frumenta immissa pinsebant." Rosini Antiq. Rom. lib. I. c. xiv.

*[2] The consumption of pitch formerly was very great, for pitching the inside of their vessels or jars for keeping wine, etc. as appears from several places in Columella; particularly lib. XII. c. xviii. et xx.

VER. 281, 282.

"Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio * Ossam
"Scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum."

* This sort of versification is very noble and beautiful, when

used in a proper place. And it is manifest from that verse in the third book of the Aeneid, ver. 211.

"Insulae Ionio in magno,"

that Virgil sometimes purposely affected that irregularity, otherwise he would certainly have said, "Insulae in Ionio magno," but the Hiatus makes it sound more grand.

VER. 289, 290.

"* Nocte leves stipulae melius, nocte arida prata
"Tondentur: noctes lentus non deficit humor."

* "Noctibus roscidis foenum secari melius." Plin. lib. XVIII. c. xxviii.

VER. 291, 292.

"Et quidam seros hiberni ad luminis ignes
"Pervigilat, ferroque faces * inspicat acuto."

* Quaer. If not torches cut in that manner on purpose to look into furnaces?—Cato calls them Faculas, c. xxxvii.

VER. 293—296.

"Interea longum cantu solata laborem
"Arguto conjux *[1] percurrit pectine telas:
"Aut dulcis *[2] musti vulcano decoquit *[3] humorem,
"Et *[4] foliis undam *[5] tepidi despumat aheni."

*[1] In great farms formerly they had looms to make the necessary clothes for their labourers, as appears from several passages in Varro; and Columella, lib. XII. c. iii.

*[2] Hereby is meant the making Defrutum, or Sapa; and in this short description Virgil hints at the most remarkable circumstances observed in making it; and uses the epithet Dulcis, because they chose commonly the sweetest wine for it.—"Mustum quam dulcissimi saporis decoquatur," says Columella, lib. XII. c. xxi. treating of the Defrutum.

*[3] Because the watery particles evaporated.—Virgil, in this verse,

———"Vulcano decoquit humorem,"

affects the style of Lucretius, which is very proper to the subject.

*[4] Pliny, speaking of this very subject, tells us, that the people strictly observed this nicety of using leaves to take off the scum. "Non nisi foliis despumandum; quia si ligno contingatur vas, adustum ac fumosum fieri putant." Lib. XVIII. c. xxxi.

*[5] Because done over a gentle fire, which was not to touch

the furnace with the flames.—"Levi primum igne et tenuibus "admodum lignis, quae cremia rustici appellant, fornacem "incendemus, ut ex commodo mustum ferveat," &c. Col. lib. XII. c. xix.

VER. 297.

"At rubicunda *[1] Ceres medio *[2] succiditur aestu."

*[1] "Antequam ex toto grana indurescant, cùm rubicundum colorem traxerunt, messis facienda est." Col. lib. II. c. xxi.

*[2] So "Supponat," ver. 348. The compound is used, in both places, to express the manner of reaping. See Varro. lib. I. c. 1.

VER. 302.

"Invitat † genialis hiems, curasque resolvit."

† Alluding to their Saturnalia, which answered to our merry time of Christmas.

They had their Christmas jests too;

"Postulat ecce novos ebria Bruma sales." Mart. pref. to lib. XIII.

——— "Jocos Decembris." Id. X. 85.

It was a time of debauch;

——— "Et toto vinum nescire Decembri."
Juv. Sat. VII.

And of feasting;

——— "Acceptus geniis December." Ov. Fast. III.

See the last poem in Statius's Sylv. lib. I.

VER. 304, 305.

"Ceu pressae cum jam portum tetigere carinae,
"Puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere * coronas."

* Suetonius mentions this custom. "Forte Puteolanum "sinum praetervehenti vectores nautaeque de navi Alexandrinâ, "quae tantum quod adpulerat, candidati, *coronatique*, et thura "libantes fausta omina et laudes congesserant," etc. In Aug. c. xcviii.

VER. 316—321.

"Saepe ego, cum flavis messorum induceret arvis
"Agricola, et *[1] fragili jam *[2] stringeret hordea culmo,
"Omnia *[3] ventorum concurrere praelia vidi,
"Quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis
"Sublime expulsam eruerent; ita turbine nigro
"Ferret hiems culmumque levem, stipulasque volantes."

*[1] This epithet is very proper. Columella, speaking of barley, says, "Ubi paulum maturuerit, festinantius quàm ullum aliud "frumentum demetendum erit, nam et fragili culmo, et nullâ "vestitum paleâ, granum ejus celeriter decidit." Lib. II. c. ix.

*[2] See in Pliny and others the several ways of reaping.—See Ecl. IX. 61. note.—Quaer. If Stringeret does not imply the reaping in haste?

*[3] The Poet takes occasion here to observe, that the regular seasons are frequently interrupted by storms, etc. Pliny in the same manner, after having discoursed "de temporibus serendi," proceeds thus—"Cum omnia haec statis sideribus coeloque "affixis constent, interveniunt motu stellarum (i. e. by the "planets) grandines, imbres, et ipsi non levi effectu, ut docui- "mus, turbantque conceptae spei ordinem.—Ideo Virgilius "errantium quoque siderum rationem ediscendam praecipit, "admonens observandum frigidae Saturni stellae transitum." Lib. XVIII. c. xxv.

Ver. 328—333.

"Ipse pater, media nimborum in nocte, † coruscâ
"Fulmina molitur dextrâ: quo maxima motu
"Terra tremit: fugere ferae, et mortalia corda
"Per gentes humilis stravit pavor: ille flagranti
"Aut Atho, aut Rhodopen, aut alta Ceraunia telo
"Dejicit: ingeminant Austri, et densissimus imber."

† This is supposed to be taken from some antient painting. See Pol. VI. 36.

Ver. 335—337.

"*[1] Hoc metuens, coeli *[2] menses et sidera serva;
"*[3] Frigida Saturni sese quo stella receptet:
"Quos ignis coeli Cylennius erret in orbes."

*[1] By these three verses Virgil advises the countrymen to observe the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the other constellations, and likewise the planets.—That Pliny understood him in this sense, I think, plainly appears from the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter of his eighteenth book. See note *[3] on ver. 318. anteh.

*[2] A very pretty expression for the twelve signs.

*[3] This epithet is given to Saturn, because he was supposed by the antients to preside over cold. The Aegyptian priest in Lucan, explaining to Caesar the different powers of the heavenly bodies, says;

"Frigida Saturno glacies et zona nivalis
"Cessit; habet ventos, incertaque fulmine Mavors."
Phars. X. 205.

VER. 347—350.

———— "Neque ante
"Falcem maturis quisquam *[1] supponat aristis,
"Quam Cereri, tortâ redimitus tempora *[2] quercu,
"Det motus incompositos et *[3] carmina dicat.

*[1] See second note on ver. 297.

*[2] The worship here directed must be different from the Ambarvalia, just before mentioned by Virgil. For that feast, we find, was,

———— "Extremae sub casum hiemis;

whereas this was just before harvest, when they adorned themselves with garlands of oak.

I have seen the Florentine peasants in the month of July dancing and singing, in the *manner here described*, crowned with garlands of oak.

*[3] Horace tells us, that Poetry in Italy began first at their harvest feasts. Lib. II. Ep. i. ver. 139.

"Agricolae prisci, fortes, parvoque beati, κ. τ. λ.

VER. 379, 380.

"*[1] Saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova
"Angustum formica terens iter; et bibit *[2] ingens
"Arcus." ————

*[1] The emphasis, as I take it, is to be laid upon *saepius*. The observation relating to the hurry ants are in, against bad weather; when they run out and in, and carry their eggs backward and forward, several times.

"Imperfecto complectitur aëra gyro
"Arcus, vix ullâ variatus luce colorem,
"Oceanumque bibit." Lucan. Phars. lib. IV. ver. 79.

Where the bow is represented as dark, and cloudy, and imperfect; portending an inundation.

It is now a common opinion that the rainbow sometimes portends fair weather, at other times rain. The like opinion prevailed among the antients; and when the bow appeared dark and watery at either end towards the horizon, then they said, "bibit arcus."—Plautus makes one of his actors, on seeing a crooked old woman drinking, say very humorously;

"Ecce autem bibit arcus, pluet, credo herclè hodie."
Curcul. act. I.

Seneca in his Nat. Quaest. lib. I. cap. vi. confirms what is said, that the rainbow sometimes portended rain, sometimes fair weather. ——

VER. 388, 389.

" Tum cornix* plenâ pluviam vocat improba voce;
" Et sola in siccâ secum spatiatur arenâ."

* Servius reads it *raucâ.*—Pliny observes of the Corvi, " Pessima eorum significatio, cum glutiunt vocem, velut strangulati." Lib. X. c. xii.

VER. 393, 394.

" Nec minus ex* imbri soles et aperta serena
" Prospicere, et certis poteris cognoscere signis."

* Dr. Martyn reads *eximbres*, thinking this more poetical than the common reading; and says it is certain that Virgil's meaning could not be, that these observations are to be made during the rain, etc. With submission, I think that "ex imbri" does not necessarily signify whilst it actually rains, but rather immediately after a shower. During which interval one may judge whether the bad weather is like to continue, or not. Virgil here gives us prognostics of the latter; and Prospicere plainly intimates something future; and shews Virgil's meaning to be, when the weather is not quite settled, but going to change from bad to good. We find too afterwards, vers. 413, that the showers are but just over, when the ravens foretell a change, and promise fair weather:

——— " Juvat imbribus actis
" Progeniem parvam dulcesque revisere nidos."

VER. 395—397.

" Nam neque tum stellis acies obtusa videtur,
" Nec fratris radiis obnoxia surgere Luna:
" * Tenuia nec lanae per caelum vellera ferri."

* These fleecy thin clouds are signs of rain: " Si nubes ut " vellera lanae spargentur multae ab oriente, aquam in triduum " praesagiunt." Plin. lib. XVIII. c. ult.

As Virgil and Pliny call these thin clouds, " vellera lanae ;' so Ovid likens a fleece, carded by Arachne, to a cloud.

———" Repetitaque longo
" Vellera mollibat nebulas aequantia tractu."
Met. lib. VI. ver. 21.

VER. 418, 419.

———" Jupiter humidus † Austris
" Densat, erant quae rara modo; et, quae densa relaxat."

† See Pol. xiii. 71

VER. 430, 431.

" At si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem
" Ventus erit: vento semper rubet aurea * Phoebe."

* The common epithet given to the Moon is Argentea; on this occasion the Poet more properly and very prettily calls her Aurea.

VER. 432—435.

" Sin ortu in *[1] quarto (namque is certissimus auctor)
" *[2] Pura, neque obtusis per coelum cornibus ibit;
" Totus et ille dies, et qui nascentur ab illo
" Exactum ad mensem, pluviâ ventisque carebunt."

*[1] " Quartam Lunam maximè observat Aegyptus. Si splendens exorta puro nitore fulserit, serenitatem; si rubicunda, " ventos portendere creditur." Plin. lib. XVIII. cap. ult.

*[2] M. Annaeus Seneca has quoted this passage at large in his 3[d] Suasoria, and all the editions of that author have it, " Plena, " neque obtusis." Yet, notwithstanding this ancient and good authority, we find in all printed copies of Virgil the word Pura substituted instead of Plena. 'Tis pretended indeed by And. Schottus, that in Mss. of Seneca, he found the word, as in the printed copies of Virgil, Pura; and contends that it ought to be so. But, besides the testimony of the best editions of that author, it seems evident, from the whole tenor of Seneca's discourse, that he read the word Plena; and the chief stress of his argument depends upon it. And therefore I make no doubt but this is the genuine reading; and, with submission, I think it likewise far preferable to the other. For Pura conveys no idea to us more than " neque obtusis cornibus;" but Plena does. The whole of Virgil's observation is this: When on the first appearance of a New Moon the horns are dim, and the space within the horns dark and black, then we are threatened with bad weather. But on the contrary, when on the fourth day of the Moon the horns appear sharp, and the space between them so bright (as may be observed in a clear sky) that the whole circle or face of the Moon is plainly distinguishable, which is the purport of Plena, then it portends good weather.

Any one may easily perceive, that the word in this place is very expressive, and the opposition between " Luna plena" and " in ortu quarto" enlivens the thought; and therefore, I suppose, 'tis admired by Seneca as a shorter, more easy, and happier expression than what he quotes from Fuscus Arellius: " Luna, sive plena lucis suae est splendensque, pariter assurgit " in cornua:" which is dull and languid in comparison of Virgil, and contains no more in such a number of words than Virgil has

expressed in one, but yet may serve as a good comment upon him. This seeming inconsistency between Plena and Ortu quarto might probably at first occasion the adulteration; some acute critics imagining, that Plena could by no means suit the Moon when but four days old. 'Tis true indeed it cannot in the common sense, but in the Poet's it does. And if this was the occasion of the alteration, I hope what appeared to them a solecism will be thought a real beauty.——† I have often observed this appearance spoken of by Mr. Holdsworth, and that sometimes on the third and fifth days of the New Moon, as well as on the fourth. Virgil had, no doubt, often seen the same; but he instances in the fourth, as its being a surer sign of fair weather than any of the other; (" namque is certissimus auc- " tor.") It may be a surer sign in Italy too, than it is with us; for I have scarce ever found it to hold good, as to its prediction, in our moister air and more inconstant climate.——Mr. Holdsworth's reason for altering the word Pura, depends wholly on the reading of the verse in Seneca. It might perhaps be said, on the other side, that Valerius Flaccus, in a verse (in which he seems to have had this line of Virgil in his eye) uses the word Pura: it is in the second book of his Argonautics:

——" Micat immutabile coelum;
" Puraque, nec gravido surrexit Cynthia cornu:"

But an imitation is not near so full a proof, as a quotation; and of the two, Val. Flaccus is farther removed from the time of the first edition of Virgil's works, than Seneca.

Ver. 461—463.

" Denique, quid Vesper serus vehat; unde serenas
" Ventus agat nubes; quid * cogitet humidus Auster;
" Sol tibi signa dabit."——

* The Poet here speaks of the South-Wind as a person having the command over the watery corner, and meditating whether he should bring rain upon the earth or not; and supposes that, by frequent observations on the Sun, one may discover his designs and enter into his thoughts.

——" Quid cogitet humidus Auster."

Dr. Martyn, in a note on this verse, tells us, that Pierius says, some would fain read, " Quid cogat et humidus Auster;" but that most of the ancient Mss. have Cogitat.

Again, at the end of the 4th Georgic, he publishes some remarks which he says were sent him, after the publication of the third Georgic, by the learned Edward King, Esq.; in a letter dated from Bromley in Kent. Among which is this following:

"I never could be reconciled to, Quid cogitet humidus Auster.
"I had rather read Cogat et, or Concitet, (contra omnes Codices)
"than Cogitet."

For my part, I see no difficulty in animating the winds; Cogitet. There is no doubt but the ancients often described the winds as persons, which alone sufficiently justifies the use of the word Cogitet. And as the southerly wind generally produces cloudy dark weather, and, as Virgil says in another place, "Contristat caelum," may it not very properly be represented in a thoughtful posture, like an old pensive fellow, on a damp gloomy day? —In this sense Cogitet is an expression, which to me appears not only easy; but truly poetical and very beautiful.——————
† See also Polymetis, xiii. 13. on the passage.

VER. 471—473.

————"Quoties Cyclopum effervere in agros
"Vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,
"Flammarumque globos * liquefactaque volvere saxa?"

* The Academy of Sciences at Naples, who may well be supposed to be proper judges of a just description of a burning mountain, take occasion to applaud this passage, in the account they published of the eruption of mount Vesuvio, which happened in the year 1737. They seem to think these words convey a truer and more lively idea of the torrents of a burning mountain, than any of the formal descriptions given by Virgil's interpreters, or other writers: The matter thrown out at such times being, as they observe, really liquid or melted stone. They particularly condemn Ruaeus's note on this passage, as not agreeable to Virgil or the truth: and quoting his words, they add this angry censure: "Ex quibus manifestum est aptissimam "Poetae phrasin imperiti hominis temerario judicio in prae- "posteram explicationem esse deductam."——See their commentary De Vesuvii conflagratione, published at Naples, 1738. p. 47. See likewise Borelli, De Incend. Aetn. p. 69.

VER. 476—479.

"Vox quoque per lucos vulgò exauditi silentes
"Ingens, et simulacra modis pellentia miris
"Visa sub obscurum noctis: pecudesque locutae,
"* Infandum! sistunt amnes, terraeque dehiscunt."

* Virgil seldom or never mentions, such incredible stories, without an exclamation to denote his not giving too much credit to the report. Observe, that the exclamation is the most proper that could be used on the occasion.

VER. 481—483.

* " Proluit insano contorquens vortice sylvas
" Fluviorum rex Eridanus, camposque per omnes
" Cum stabulis armenta tulit!"———

* This is a short but noble description of the inundations of the Po: of which Virgil, who lived in the neighbourhood, must frequently have been an eye-witness. The first verse flows with strength and fury; and the irregularity of Fluviorum adds a beauty in describing the violence of a torrent that knows no bounds. Lucan, lib. VI. expatiates more minutely on the damages done by the same river; but, according to custom, he knows not where to leave off. And though he has commonly too much rage, yet in this place, for want of judgment, he is very tame; where his fury, if ever, might have been pardonable.——" Tum flu-" mine toto Transit," is a very calm way of breaking down bounds, and overflowing a country.

VER. 484—486.

——— " Nec tempore eodem
" Tristibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces,
" Aut puteis manare cruor cessavit; et altè
" Per noctem resonare lupis * ululantibus urbes."

* The sound of this word, especially according to the foreign pronunciation, is expressive of its sense. 'Tis very mournful, and cannot be uttered without howling.

VER. 489—492.

" Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
" Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi:
" Nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro
" Emathiam et latos * Haemi pinguescere campos."

* A large extent was given to this mountain, by the Antients; and at this day 'tis called by the Italians, Catena mundi.

VER. 498—500.

" Dii †[1] patrii Indigetes, et Romule, Vestaque mater,
" Quae †[2] Tuscum Tiberim *, et Romana Palatia servas,
" Hunc saltem everso juvenem succurrere saeclo
" Ne prohibete!"———

†[1] Beside less mistakes, our Mr. Dryden has made a very gross one, in his translation of this passage. Virgil, by the Dii Patrii here, means the great Triad of deities first received all over

the East; and afterwards successively in Greece and Italy. These the ancient writers in general (from Herodotus quite down to Macrobius) usually call by the title of Θεοὶ Πατρῶοι, or Dii Patrii. There is an endless variety of opinions, who these three deities were, who were so much revered in the East; and particularly in the island of Samothrace: but among the Romans it is evident enough that the three deities received as the three supreme, were Jupiter, Juno and Minerva: and therefore Virgil adds the word Indigetes, to fix it to the Θεοὶ Πατρῶοι, or the three great supreme gods, received as such in his own country. Indigetes here is much the same as Nostri in Juvenal; where he is speaking of these very deities, (Sat. III. ver. 145.) They are therefore no less personages than Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (the three supreme among all the gods of the Romans), whom Dryden here represents Virgil as calling,—" Home-born deities; of mortal birth."

†[2] Mr. Holdsworth seems to have thought (as appears in a note which he has left imperfect), that there were two temples of Vesta in Rome; and that this verse may point out the situation of each: one on the banks of the river; and the other, near the gate of the Palatine Hill.

* Virgil speaks of Tuscany and Rome almost as if they were both upon the same footing, here and in other places; chiefly out of complaisance for his great patron Maecenas, who was descended from the old race of the kings of that country.

Ver. 509—513.

" Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum:
" Vicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes
" Arma ferunt: saevit toto Mars impius orbe:
" Ut cum carceribus sese effudêre quadrigae,
" * Addunt se in spatia."———

* Dr. Martyn owns this to be the common reading, but chooses to follow Heinsius and Ruaeus in reading, "Addunt in spatio:" which he takes to signify, " They increase their swiftness in the ring; or run faster and faster." As if Virgil meant (as he says Grimoaldus understands him), that the longer horses run in a course the faster they go. With submission, I think the Poet has no such thought in view: what he chiefly intends in this comparison, at least in this part of it, is, as I take it, the eagerness and fury of horses, when they first find themselves at liberty, as soon as the barrier is removed. To this he compares the mad licentiousness of the world, which he had before described, when loosed from the restraint of laws, upon the death of Caesar. " Effudêre se carceribus" answers to " ruptis legibus" and " addunt se in spatia," to the first impetuosity of

regained liberty or licentiousness. In the foot-race, Aen. V. Virgil calls this first Impetus, " Corripere spatia:"

———" Signoque repentè
" Corripiunt spatia audito, limenque relinquunt."

In which place 'tis plain, from "signo audito" and " limen relinquunt," that " corripiunt spatia" can relate only to the first Impetus after starting. Dr. Martyn understands " corripere campum" in the same manner, Georg. III. ver. 103.

" Cùm praecipiti certamine campum corripuere :"

which he well translates, " when the chariots have seized the plain." I think " addunt se in spatia," or " addunt se spatio," signifies much to the same purpose ; and therefore I take one of these to be the true reading. The chief difficulty lies in the word Addunt. Let us then only suppose it to be Dant, and then the expression would be easy, " dant se in spatia," they give themselves a loose. Addunt may be taken in the same sense, and with more force; for as this preposition (in composition) not only implies nearness, but one of its known powers is to enforce; so here it has both significations, and expresses not only their starting together as Quadrigae, but serves to give a greater emphasis : and its intent is to shew with what violence they jointly seize the field.

GEORGIC THE SECOND.

Ver. 4—6.

"Huc†, pater, ô Lenaee: tuis hic omnia plena
"Muneribus, tibi pampineo gravidus autumno
"Floret ager, spumat plenis vindemia labris."

† This was either part of an antient prayer to Bacchus, or is new made, for the use of the countrymen, by Virgil, in the same manner as Ovid has made one for them in his Fasti. They first desire him to favour them with his looking toward them, which they thought occasioned the fertility of their vines; and next to favour them with his actual presence among them in their labours, at the vintage.——Mr. Holdsworth observes, that Montfaucon has some figures relating to the latter, in his Antiquities. He was called Lenaeus from this, as Ruaeus observes, and Mr. Holdsworth proves from Diodorus Siculus.——Τὸν δὲ οὖν Διόνυσον ἐπελθόντα μετὰ στρατοπέδου πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διδάξαι τὴν φυτείαν τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς ἀπόθλιψιν τῶν βοτρύων, ἀφ' οὗ Ληναῖον αὐτὸν ὀνομασθῆναι. Diodor. Sic. p. 138.

Virgil reminds the husbandmen of praying to Bacchus toward the close of this book, as well as in the entrance on it. See ver. 529.

Ver. 9—11.

"Principio arboribus varia est natura creandis:
"Namque aliae, nullis hominum cogentibus, ipsae
"Sponte * suâ veniunt."———

* Varro, lib. I. c. xl. says, "Semen, quod est principium oriendi, duplex; unum, quod latet nostrum sensum; alterum quod apertum." And then proceeds: "Latet, si sunt semina in aëre, ut ait Physicus Anaxagoras," etc.

The antients might perhaps be of opinion, that all plants had not seed: Virgil seems to favour that opinion by his "Non ullo semine," G. I. 22. but that does not seem to be his meaning here. He mentions one (viz. Genista) which he must know to have seed; and therefore I rather believe, he means self-sown plants, and adds,

———"Nullis hominum cogentibus,"———

to explain his meaning.

" Arbores, quas naturae debeamus, tribus modis nascuntur ; " sponte, aut semine, aut ab radice," etc. Pliny, lib. XVI. c. xxxii. And, in the beginning of the following book, he says : " Natura arborum, terrâ marique sponte suâ provenientium, " dicta est : restat earum, quae arte et humanis ingeniis fiunt " veriùs quam nascuntur."

VER. 14.

" Pars autem * posito surgunt de semine."———

* Posito, according to Catrou, in this place signifies fallen naturally :

——— " Positas ut glaciet nives
" Puro numine Jupiter." Hor. lib. III. od. x.

I see not any occasion of limiting the word to that meaning, but understand it in the common sense. Virgil certainly intends to bring under this head, all trees raised from seed set by hand ; which he properly calls natural propagation, being so, or at least dictated by nature ; whereas under the next class, he reckons up only such methods of propagation as are purely the inventions of art, and discoveries made by experience.——Under this first class are comprehended, 1st, Trees that grow " sponte suâ," as explained above : 2dly, Trees raised from seed set or sown : 3dly, All trees raised or growing from the suckers of the roots.——These three sorts he repeats again from ver 47 to 60, and shews how they may be improved, and what disadvantage there ensues by leaving them to nature.——I take therefore " posito de semine" to signify seed "set by hand," or set regularly as in nurseries ; in opposition to those just before mentioned, which he says,

——— " nullis hominum cogentibus, ipsae
" Sponte suâ veniunt."

And such trees as are raised from seed set by hand, belong properly to this class of trees raised naturally ; for though art is employed therein, yet nature shewed the way.

——— " Hos natura modos primùm dedit."———

Virgil afterwards makes use of the same expression, " Positis seminibus," speaking of vine-layers planted out :

" Seminibus positis, superest deducere terram
" Saepius ad capita."——— 355.

When Virgil speaks of seed scattered naturally or sown by hand without attention, or regularity, he makes use of the word Jactis :

"Jam quae *seminibus jactis* se sustulit arbos
"Tarda venit," etc. 57.

He observes that seed sown in that manner must degenerate, and therefore advises to set them regularly, as in nurseries:

——— "Omnes
"Cogendae in sulcum." 62.

VER. 16.

* Aesculus, atque habitae Graiis oracula quercus."

* There is a species of oak in Spain, that bears a sweet acorn which the people eat as commonly as chestnuts. Quaer. If not the Aesculus? and how called there? ‡

VER. 17—19.

"Pullulat ab radice aliis densissima sylva;
"Ut cerasis, ulmisque: etiam Parnassia † laurus
"Parva sub ingenti matris se subjicit umbra."

† Strictly speaking, our Laurel is the Lauro, or Lauro Regio, of the Italians; and our Bays, their Alloro: but our Poets, as well as theirs, use the words indifferently. Laurus was used too by the Roman writers indifferently, for the Laurel, and Bays. Pliny, speaking of the Laurus, says: "Duo ejus genera tradit "Cato: Delphicam et Cypriam: Delphicam, aequali colore, "viridiorem maximis baccis, atque è viridi rubentibus: hâc vic- "tores Delphis coronari, et triumphantes Romae. Cypriam "esse folio brevi, nigro, per margines imbricato, crispam." Nat. Hist. lib. XV. c. xxx. sub initio.

It was the Laurel or Laurus Delphica, with which their Poets were crowned:

——— "Sume superbiam
"Quaesitam meritis, et mihi Delphicâ
"Lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam."
Hor. lib. III. od. xxx. ver. 16.

And it is hence the same Poet calls it Laurea Apollinaris, lib. IV. od. ii. 9. and Virgil here Parnassia.

VER. 23, 24.

"Hic *[1] plantas tenero abscindens de corpore matrum
"Deposuit sulcis; hic stirpes *[2] obruit *[3] arvo."

*[1] Not shoots or suckers from the foot of the tree, but slips from the young branches.—The word Tenero being added, in-

‡ It is the Bellota, and is very generally used for food by the poorer peasantry, particularly in the Asturias.—*Editor.*

clines me to prefer this meaning. Besides, Virgil comes afterwards, in a more proper place, to speak of the planting out of suckers, ver. 53, etc.

*[2] Pliny speaks of this way of planting figs: "Optimè quidem nascitur ficus, si vastiore ramo pali modo exacuto adigatur altê, exiguo super terram relicto capite, eoque ipso arenâ cooperto." Lib. XVII. c. xvii.——This is very well expressed by Obruit.

*[3] "Arvum dicitur quod aratum necdum satum est." Var. De re rust. lib. I. c. xxix.

Ver. 28, 29.

"Nil radicis egent aliae; summumque putator
"Haud dubitat terrae referens mandare * cacumen."

* Some plants, may be set reversed with their heads downwards; and that this was known and practised formerly is plain from Columella, who gives particular orders not to plant olives so.—"Tiliae serrâ praecidantur, atque earum plagae utrâque parte falce leventur, et rubricâ notentur; ut sic quemadmodum in arbore steterat ramus, ita parte imâ terram, et cacumine caelum spectans deponatur. Nam si inversa mergatur, difficulter comprehendet; et cum validiùs convaluerit, sterilis in perpetuum erit." Lib. V. c. ix.—And; "Opuli meliùs cacuminibus in arbusto protinus deponuntur." Lib. V. c. vi.

Ver. 30, 31.

"Quin et caudicibus sectis, mirabile dictu,
"Truditur è sicco * radix oleagina ligno."

* I observed about Olioules, which is within a league of Toulon, and likewise on the road from Toulon to Hieres, that most of the olive-trees are shoots from the old stocks which suffered in the year 1709; some of which had their heads cut off, others were cut down to the ground on that account. Most of these old stocks seem in appearance to be dead and look like rotten stumps, and yet bear very flourishing young trees shooting out all round them.

† The same is often as surprising in our old willows; of which I have seen several (and particularly some in the Garden-Island in St. James's Park) which send down a tap-root from their heads through the trunk, that often seems entirely decayed; and so form a young tree on an old stock, which looks as flourishing as the other does rotten.

Ver. 40, 41.

"O decus, ô famae merito pars maxima nostrae,
"Maecenas; * pelagoque volans da vela patenti."

* Ruaeus has observed a seeming contradiction between this and what follows; but Virgil means that he is going to enter upon a vast extensive subject, and by what follows declares that he will only enter or touch upon it, not launch into the deep, but keep within bounds. How extensive this subject was he again declares the last verse but one of this Georgic:

"Sed nos immensum spatium," etc.

In such a variety as the subject afforded, it required great art and judgment to choose what should be most proper, and digest the instructions into an agreeable order. He has hinted several of his precepts by one word only. And, that he might not be tiresome by dictating too many rules one after another, he has interspersed beautiful descriptions, and interwoven proper digressions.

Volans, flying along with me, and hovering over me as my good Genius. This is more poetical than as Ruaeus interprets it.

VER. 47, 48.

"Sponte suâ quae se tollunt in luminis * auras,
"Infoecunda quidem, sed laeta et fortia surgunt."

* Notwithstanding the several quotations brought by Dr. Martyn from Lucretius in favour of Oras, yet since Auras is equally intelligible, and as it is allowed that the best Mss. and editions read it so, I would prefer that reading; not only on account of what is urged by Fulvius Ursinus, but likewise because Virgil concludes a verse but just before with Oram, ver. 44.

VER. 55, 56.

"Nunc altae frondes et rami matris opacant,
"Crescentique adimunt foetus, * uruntque ferentem."

* Parch, kill——So,

——"Penetrabile frigus adurat." G. I. 93.

And again,

"Urentes culta capellas." G. II. 196.

VER. 63, 64.

"Sed truncis * oleae melius, propagine vites
"Respondent, solido Paphiae de robore myrtus."

* Columella, having given directions about making nurseries of olives, and transplanting young olive-trees from the nursery to the olive-yard, says: "Quod si cum eâ terrâ planta non "convenit, tum optimum est omni fronde privare truncum;

"atque levatis plagis, fimoque et cinere oblitis, in scrobem vel "sulcum deponere. Truncus autem aptior translationi est, qui "brachii crassitudinem habet: poterit enim longe majoris in-"crementi et robustioris transferri."——From this account it is plain Columella thought this the securer way of propagating olive-trees: and this is now much practised about Tivoli.—— N.B. Truncus was used to denote not only the body, but the limbs of a tree, as appears from Columella, lib. V. c. vi. where, describing the Tabulata of trees for vines to spread on, he says: "Hoc enim nomine usurpant agricolae ramos truncosque pro-"minentes," etc.

Columella, in the book De Arboribus, cap. xvii. says: "Me-"lius truncis quam plantis olivetum constituitur." And then gives directions: "Oportet autem arbusculam deponere ita "rectam, ut quod a scrobe extiterit in medium sit."

Ver. 67, 68.

——— "Etiam ardua * palma
"Nascitur, et casus * abies visura marinos."

* Q. If this ought not to be construed thus? "Palma nascitur "etiam ardua; item Abies:" i. e. they may be planted out, when they are tall large trees. This I take to be Virgil's meaning; and is finely expressed. 'Tis certain that this is commonly practised with firs: Q. whether the palm will bear it? In the 4th Georgic, Virgil confirms what he says here; and makes his Corycius Senex put in practice, what he here mentions as feasible:

"Ille etiam seras in versum distulit ulmos,
"Eduramque pyrum," etc.———

Pliny mentions the transplanting the Abies with roots above eight cubits long: "Apud autores certe invenitur, abietis "planta cum transferretur, octo cubitorum in altitudine; nec "totam refossam, sed abruptam." Lib. XVI. c. xxxi.

Ver. 69—72.

"Inseritur *[1] vero ex foetu nucis arbutus horrida,
"Et steriles platani malos gessere valentes:
"Castaneae fagus, ornusque incanuit albo
"Flore *[2] pyri: glandemque sues fregêre sub ulmis."

*[1] Pliny mentions this passage, lib. XV. c. xv. "Virgilius "insitam nucibus arbutum, malis platanum dicit."

The cutting off the last letter at the end of the verse adds a beauty to the epithet given to Arbutus.

*[2] Palladius, in his book De insitione has a long article about the pear-tree, which begins thus:

" Germine cana pyrus niveos haud invida flores
" Commodat," etc.———

These epithets are probably given in imitation of Virgil's " in-" canuit albo"—and relate, one to the tree, the other to the flower.

Ver. 74—77.

——— " Quà se medio trudunt de cortice gemmae,
" Et tenues rumpunt tunicas, angustus in ipso
" Fit nodo sinus: huc aliena ex arbore germen
" Includunt, *[1] udoque docent *[2] inolescere libro."

*[1] It seems to me that by Udo is meant the plaistering used in inoculation; from whence this sort of grafting was as often called Emplastratio as Inoculatio; as appears from Columella, lib. V. c. xi. where, speaking of several ways of grafting, he says: " Tertium genus est insitionis, quo arbor ipsas gemmas " cum exiguo cortice in partem sui delibratam recipit, quam " vocant agricolae Emplastrationem, vel ut quidam Inocula-" tionem."—And then describes this inoculation thus: " Alte-" rius arboris, quam Emplastraturus es, nitidissimum ramum " eligito; et ejusdem spatii corticem circumcidito, et materiam " delibrato; deinde in eam partem quam nudaveris praepa-" ratum Emplastrum aptato; ita ut alterae delibratae parti " conveniat: Ubì ita haec feceris, circa gemmam bene alligato, " cavetoque nè laedas ipsum germen. Deinde commissuras et " vincula luto oblinito; spatio relicto, ut gemma libera vinculo " non urgeatur."

*[2] Columella commonly uses the word Coalescere on this subject; but, lib. V. c. x. he uses Inolescere; probably from Virgil.

Ver. 78, 79.

" Aut rursum enodes trunci * resecantur, et altè
" Finditur in solidum cuneis via: deinde feraces
" Plantae immittuntur."———

* " Arborem, quam inserere voles, serrâ diligenter exsecato; " eâ parte, quâ maximè nitida et sine cicatrice est." Col. lib. V. c. xi.

Ver. 83, 84.

" Praeterea genus haud unum, nec fortibus *[1] ulmis,
" Nec *[2] salici *[3] lotoque, nec Idaeis *[4] cyparissis:"

*[1] Columella, lib. V. c. vi. De ulmariis faciendis, says thus:

" Ulmorum duo esse genera convenit, Gallicum et vernaculum: " illud Atinia, hoc nostras dicitur. Est autem Atinia ulmus " longè laetior et procerior quam nostras, frondemque jucundi-" orem bubus praebet: quâ cùm assiduè pecus paveris, et " postea generis alterius frondem dare institueris, fastidium " bubus affert."——This may serve likewise to explain Virgil's " frondibus ulmi," ver. 446. posth.

*[2] " Tria sunt genera praecipuè Salicis, Graecae, Gallicae, " Sabinae, quam plurimi vocant Amerinam." Col. lib. IV. c. xxx.

*[3] The celebrated Lotus was an African tree; but, as Pliny tells us, they had the Lotus too very common in Italy, but very different from the other: " Et ipsam Italiae familiarem, sed " terrâ mutatur."——Again he says, the differences between the several sorts consisted chiefly in the fruit.—That the African was as large as a bean, and grew thick like myrtle; but the fruit of the Italian was like a cherry. Plin. lib. XIII. c. xvii.

*[4] Pliny says of the cypress: " Duo genera earum—Meta in " fastigium convoluta, quae et foemina appellatur: Mas spargit " extra se ramos deputaturque et accipit vitem," etc. lib. XVI. cxxxiii. See likewise in the same chapter, the reason of the epithet Idaeis.

Ver. 85, 86.

" Nec pingues unam in faciem nascuntur olivae,
" Orchades *, et radii, et amarâ pausia baccâ."

* Columella reckons up ten different sorts of olives: Virgil names only three of them. It cannot be known for certain by what names they are called at present; but this may be collected, from passages in Columella, that the Orchis and Radius were large olives, and used chiefly for eating; the Pausia, a small olive, used commonly to make oil——" Pausiae oleum " saporis egregii—Orchis et Radius melius ad escam quàm in " liquorem stringitur.—Omnisque olea major fere ad escam, " minor oleo est aptior." Lib. V. c. viii. And again lib. XII. c. xlvii.—From this account, it may not be amiss to suppose, that the Orchis answers to the Spanish olive, Radius to the streaked olive such as that of Languedoc, and Pausia to the Lucca or Florence olive.——N. B. Columella, in this description of the several sorts of olives, says, " Bacca jucundissima est " Pausiae;" whereas Virgil distinguishes it by " amarâ baccâ:" in order to reconcile them, we must suppose, that Virgil speaks of the berry before it is pressed; and the more bitter that is, it usually makes the sweeter oil, in which latter sense Columella calls it Jucundissima.

VER. 91—96.

" Sunt Thasiae vites, sunt et Mareotides *[1] albae;
" Pinguibus, hae terris habiles, levioribus illae.
" Et passo * Psythia utilior, *[2] tenuisque lageos
" Tentatura pedes olim, vincturaque linguam ;
" Purpureae *[3], preciaeque : et quo te carmine dicam,
" *[4] Rhaetica? nec cellis ideo contende Falernis."

*[1] " Dixit Virgilius Thasias, Mareotidas, et Lageas, complu- " resque externas, quae non reperiuntur in Italiâ." Plin. lib. XIV. c. iii.

The Alexandrian or Mareotic wine from the lake Mareotis, near the city Alexandria in Aegypt, was much celebrated and very strong. Horace, speaking of Cleopatra, says:

" Mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
" Redegit in veros timores." Lib. I. Od. xxxvii.

Strabo, speaking of Alexandria and the Lacus Mareia, says, *Εὐοινία τε ἐςὶ περὶ τοὺς τόπους, ὥςε καὶ διακεῖσθαι πρὸς παλαίωσιν τὸν Μαραιῶτιν οἶνον*, lib. XVII.

" Quae Graeculae vites sunt, ut Mareoticae, Thasiae, Psi- " thiae sicut habent probabilem gustum, ita nostris regionibus " et raritate uvarum, et acinorum exiguitate, minus fluunt." Col. lib. III. c. ii.

* The Vino Santo is now made much in the same manner as the wine from the grape Psythia here mentioned was made formerly. They gather the grapes when ripe, and spread them abroad, or hang them up, for some time, to dry; and when they are become in some degree Raisins, they press them; and the juice inspissated by the evaporation of the watery parts, makes a very rich wine.

*[2] Pliny, treating of the different sorts of wine, says: " Vi- " num tenue et austerum celeriùs per urinam transit, tantoque " magis capita tentat." Lib. XXIII. c. i.

*[3] Purpureae must signify here a particular species of grapes; for Pliny says expressly, that Virgil has enumerated fifteen different kinds of grapes; and we shall not find this number right without reckoning the Purpurea for one: " xv omnino gene- " ribus uvarum nominatis, tribus oleae, totidem pyrorum." Plin. lib. XIV. Prooem.

That Precia was the name of a particular grape appears from the same author: " Preciae duo genera magnitudine acini " discernuntur, quibus materies plurima, uvaque ollis utilissima; folium apio simile." Lib. XIV. c. ii.

" Mediocri quoque solo foecundae, sicut pretiae minor et " major." Col. Lib. III. c. ii.

*[4] The Vino Santo, and Aromatico, both excellent wines, are still made near the Lago di Garda and Lago di Como, and in the Valteline, all which were within the territories of the antient Rhaeti; for thus Strabo describes them: "Rhaeti usque "in Italiam protenduntur, supra Veronam et Comum." Lib. IV.

Servius tells us, that Cato celebrated the Rhaetian wine, and that Catullus condemned it. And he fancies that, as it was disputed whether this was a good wine or not, Virgil expresses himself in the manner he does on purpose to leave the matter still undecided.

I rather believe that, as 'twas a favourite wine of Augustus, he means, he knows not how to celebrate it sufficiently. And though he says this out of complaisance to his Prince, yet still has that regard to the general taste as to give the preference to the Falernian.

The excellence of this wine is generally allowed. Tibullus calls the "Falernus ager Bacchi cura."

——— "Bacchi cura Falernus ager." Lib. I. Ecl. ix.

Dionysius Halicarnesseus, speaking of the wines of Albano, says: "Excepto Falerno, caetera omnia vina bonitate longè "superat." Lib. I.

And Varro: "Quod far conferam Campano? Quod triticum "Appulo? Quod vinum Falerno? Quod oleum Venafro?" Agricul. lib. I. c. ii.

"Falernus ager" and "Vinum Falernum" are taken sometimes in a more extensive, sometimes in a more limited sense. In the former sense, it reached from the Volturnus quite to the Liris, taking in the Massic hills, now called Monte Marso, or Montagne della Rocca.

Ver. 97—100.

"Sunt etiam Ammineae vites, *[1] firmissima vina;
"*[2] Tmolus et assurgit quibus, et rex ipse *[3] Phanaeus,
"Argitisque *[4] minor: cui non certaverit ulla,
"Aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare per annos."

*[1] Firmissima are wines which will keep; not liable to be prickt, or grow flat. Columella often uses this epithet for wines; particularly book the XIIth, in opposition to Vina languentia. That the Amminea vitis had this good quality in an eminent degree is evident likewise from the same, lib. XII. cap. xix. where, speaking "de pluribus generibus conditurarum "quibus vinum confirmatur," he prefers the Amminea vitis as the most effectual: "Quaecunque vini nota sine condimento

"valet perennari, optimam esse eam censemus, nec omnino quic-
"quam permiscendum, quo naturalis sapor ejus infuscetur. Id
"enim praestantissimum est, quod suâpte naturâ placere po-
"terit. Caeterum cum aut regionis vitio, aut novellarum vi-
"nearum, mustum laborabit, eligenda erit pars vineae (si est
"facultas) Ammineae; si minus, quam bellissimi vini, quaeque
"erit et vetustissima, et minimè uliginosa."

*[2] On the famous base at Pozzuoli, dedicated to Tiberius, on which are fourteen figures in grand relief, representing so many cities or provinces of Asia (with their proper attributes, and the name under each figure), that of Tmolus is represented as a Bacchus.

This mountain was fruitful in wines even to a proverb; as appears by Ovid:

> "Africa quot segetes, quot Tmolia terra racemos,
> "Quot Sicyon baccas, quot parit Hybla favos."
>
> Lib. IV. de Ponto, Eleg. penult.

And Strabo says: "Sardibus imminet mons dives," lib. XIII. p. 625.—"Tmolus vino excellit." lib. XIV. p. 637.——In the Pembroke collection is a bust of Tmolus crowned with grapes and vine-leaves. And Canini, in his Iconografia, plate XLIX, gives us a medal in the cabinet of Monsig. de Massimi, representing an old man crowned with a garland of grapes, with this inscription, ΤΜΩΛΟC. The reverse, he says, is a figure holding in its right hand an inclined vase, with an inscription, partly defaced, CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩ.—Canini very justly remarks, that by this medal is represented the excellency of the wines of Mount Tmolus, near the city of Sardis.—This may serve likewise to explain the latter part of this verse—"Et Rex ipse "Phanaeus:"—for by this is probably meant that Phanaeus had, or at least deserved, for his excellent wines, the same honours of statues and medals as well as Tmolus. In that sense the Ipse is very emphatical.

Plutarch, and after him Tzetzes, place Tmolus in the number of the Kings of Lydia.

*[3] Phanaeus Rex signifies undoubtedly Chian, from Phanae, a promontory of Chios. See Stephanus Byzant. *Φάναι, Ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Χίου, οἱ οἰκήτορες, Φαναῖοι.*——Servius says of "Rex ipse Phanaeus—De Lucillio hoc tractum est, qui ait, *Χῖός τε δυνάστης*; that is, *οἶνος*."

*[4] Columella says of this: "Terrae mediocritate laetatur,
"nam in pingui nimiis viribus luxuriat; in macrâ, tenuis et
"vacua fructu venit. Amicior jugo, quam arboribus; sed
"etiam in sublimibus fertilis vastis materiis et uvis exuberat,
"humillimis tabulatis aptior." Lib. III. c. ii.

Ver. 101—104.

" Non *[1] ego te, mensis *[2] et Diis accepta secundis,
" Transierim, *[3] Rhodia ; et tumidis, * bumaste, racemis.
" *[4] Sed neque quam multae species ; nec nomina quae sunt,
" Et numerus : neque enim numero comprendere refert."

*[1] Having mentioned some of the most celebrated grapes for making wine, he descends to such as were used only for eating. And by this transition, " Non ego transierim,'' seems to insinuate, that though these were excellent in their kind, yet were not to be had in equal esteem with the others, which were more necessary for life. Columella reckons the Bumastus, and Rhodia, among the grapes for eating.

*[2] ———— " Alteris
" Te mensis adhibet Deum."
Horat. ad Augustum, lib. IV. od. v.

*[3] Probably, a very large full grape ; and therefore used for desserts. Pliny mentions it with the Uva uncialis, so called, as he observes, " à pondere acini," lib. XIV. c. iii.

* Bumastus is the very large red sort of grapes, that they give you so perpetually in their desserts in Italy, and particularly at Florence. It has its name from its shape ; each grape being like the teat of a cow : Varro half latinizes the word, and calls it Bumamma.

* " Tument mammarum modo bumasti." Plin. lib. XIV. c. i.

*[4] Columella, quoting this passage, says : " Universae regi-" ones, regionumque pene singulae partes habent propria vitium " genera, quae consuetudine suâ nominant ; quaedam etiam " stirpes cum locis vocabula mutaverunt ; quaedam propter " mutationes locorum à qualitate suâ discesserunt, ita ut di-" gnosci non possint. Ideoque in hâc ipsâ Italiâ vicinae etiam " nationes nominibus earum discrepant, variantque vocabula." Lib. III. c. ii.

Ver. 116, 117.

———— " Sola India *[1] nigrum
" Ferte benum, solis est thurea virga *[2] Sabaeis."

*[1] Virgil uses this epithet for distinction sake, and it is in this place very necessary, the black ebony being the only sort valued.——" Duo genera ejus ; rarum id, quod melius, arbor-" eum, trunco enodi, materie nigri splendoris, ac vel sine arte " protinus jucundi : Alterum fruticosum, cytisi modo, et totâ " Indiâ dispersum." Plin. lib. XII. c. iv.

Lucan makes Meroë in Aethiopia the Mother of Ebony :

——— " Nigris Meroë foecunda colonis,
" Laeta comis Ebeni."——— Pharsal. lib. X. 303.

Virgil seems in several places to use India in the larger sense, to signify Aethiopia, or any very hot country, as well as India properly so called.

*[2] " Ad meridiem ultima è regionibus, quae habitantur, " Arabia est: in quâ solâ omnium nascuntur thus, myrrha," etc. Herod. Thalia.

" Thura, praeter Arabiam, nullis; ac ne Arabiae quidem " universae: in medio ejus ferè sunt Atramitae, pagus Sabae- " orum; capite regni Sabota, in monte excelso; à quo octo " mansionibus distat regio eorum thurifera, Saba appellata." Plin. lib. XII. c. xiv.

VER. 118—125.

" Quid tibi odorato referam sudantia ligno
" Balsamaque, et baccas semper frondentis acanthi?
" Quid nemora *[1] Aethiopum, molli canentia lana?
" *[2] Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia *[3] Seres?
" Aut quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos,
" Extremi sinus orbis? Ubi aëra vincere *[4] summum
" Arboris haud ullae jactu potuere sagittae:
" Et gens *[5] illa quidem sumptis non tarda pharetris."

*[1] Pliny, lib. XIII. c. xiv. adds to the passage quoted by Ruaeus; That what the woods of Aethiopia produce much more resembles wool, than that of Arabia or the Indies: that it is contained in pods resembling a pomegranate, and that the tree is like the pomegranate-tree.—" Propior tamen huic naturae " lanae; majorque folliculus, granati modo mali: Similesque et " inter se arbores ipsae."

*[2] See an account of Silk in Mons. Rollin's Antient History, vol. X. last section.

*[3] Silius Italicus makes the Seres the farthest people of the world eastward:

——— " Jam Titan equos jungebat Eois
" Littoribus, primique novo Phaëtonte retecti
" Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis."
At the beginning of the 6th book.

*[4] Q. Curtius gives this account of the woods of India: " Alexander Poro amneque (Hydaspe) superato ad interiora " Indiae processit. Sylvae erant prope in immensum spatium " diffusae, procerisque et in eximiam altitudinem editis arboribus " umbrosae: Plerique rami instar ingentium stipitum flexi in " humum rursus, quâ se curvaverant, erigebantur; adeo ut " species esset non rami resurgentis, sed arboris ex suâ radice

" generatae." Lib. IX. § 2.——And a little before, speaking of the Indian arrows, he says, they were so great and heavy, that upon Alexander's attacking Porus's army on a sudden, their arrows were of little use to them.—" Ne sagittarum quidem " ullus erat Barbaris usus; quippe longae et praegraves, nisi " prius in terrâ statuerint arcum, haud satis aptè et commodè " imponuntur." Lib. VIII. § 47.

*[5] Lucan, speaking of the Indians, says:

——— " fortior arcus:
" Nec puer, aut senior, lethales tendere nervos
" Segnis."——— Lib. VIII. 295.

VER. 126, 127.

" Media fert tristes succos tardumque *[1] saporem
" Felicis *[2] mali*.———

*[1] " Citreis odor acerrimus, sapor asperrimus." Plin. lib. XV. c. xxviii.

*[2] That the Malum citreum is here meant appears plainly from Pliny, who has given us an account of the Malus Assyria or Medica, lib. XII. c. iii. which is agreeable to this description of Virgil's. And he declares in another place, that this Medica is the Citrea malus: for he says, lib. XV. c. xiv. " Malorum " plura sunt genera. De citreis cum suâ arbore diximus; " Medica autem Graeci vocant, Patriae nomine."

* I take it that Virgil here means the orange-tree, which was first brought into Italy, from Media, in his time.—As it was not yet generally known in Italy, he describes it by its likeness to a tree well known there, the laurel-tree. " Its leaves," says he, " resemble the leaves of that; but have a finer and more " diffused smell; and it is almost always beautified with flow- " ers." Pliny calls the orange-tree Malus Medica (as above); and his account of it agrees extremely with this in Virgil.

† Fracastorius has a very pretty description of the same, which may be worth inserting here:

" Sed neque carminibus neglecta silebere nostris,
" Hesperidum decus et Medarum gloria Citre
" Sylvarum: si forte sacris cantata Poëtis,
" Parte quoque hâc Medicam non dedignabere Musam."
" Sic tibi sit semper viridis coma; semper opaca,
" Semper flore novo redolens: sis semper onusta
" Per viridem pomum sylvam pendentibus aureis." Siph. I. 2.

VER. 136—139.

" Sed neque *[1] Medorum sylvae, ditissima terra,
" Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus,

"Laudibus † Italiae certent: non Bactra, neque Indi,
"Totaque thuriferis Panchaïa pinguis *[2] arenis."

*[1] Observe with what art he introduces the praises of Italy, and his compliment to Caesar: making the thread of his discourse lead him to it, without seeming to have it in his view.

† Compare this with Denis of Halicarnassus's Elogium of Italy, lib. I. c. viii. § 5.—Pliny, lib. III. c. v. and lib. XXXVII. c. xiii.—and Solin. c. viii.

*[2] Columella, speaking of the land of Numidia and Aegypt, calls it "terram pinguibus arenis putrem veluti cinerem solu-"tam." Lib. II. c. ii.

Ver. 149, 150.

"Hic ver assiduum, atque alienis mensibus aestas;
"Bis gravidae pecudes, bis * pomis utilis arbos."

* This, as Ruaeus observes, is generally thought an hyperbole, but without reason; for besides what Varro mentions, lib. I. c. vii. "De malo biferâ in agro Consentino," several other authors assert the same, as sufficient justifications of the poet. And I remember to have seen a vine at Ischia, which I was assured bore grapes three times in the year; and is therefore called Uva di tre volte l'anno. It had ripe grapes in August; others turning, which would be ripe in October; and others quite green and small, which I was informed would be ripe in December or January.—This corresponds with what Pliny affirms, lib. XVI. c. xxvii. "Vites quidem et triferae sunt, quas ob id insanas "vocant; quoniam in iis aliae maturescunt, aliae turgescunt, "aliae florent."—But, without enlarging further upon such singular instances affirmed by other authors, we may observe that when Virgil mentions this particular in honour of the Italian climate, he expresses himself more modestly and accurately than other authors do. He does not affirm that the trees are Biferae, or Bis parturit arbos, which perhaps may be doubted, but "bis pomis utilis."——This is certainly true of the fig, which they have in great plenty, especially about Naples, at two distant seasons of the year; (viz.) at the usual time, at the latter end of August, or September; and likewise in May, thence called, from the season, Fico di Pascha. I was informed at Cava near Naples, which place is celebrated for its figs, that they cover their trees with mats all the winter, by which means the small figs, which remained green on the tree in the autumn, are preserved, and ripen in the spring as soon as the trees begin to shoot, and produce those forward figs.

Columella, lib. X. reckons the Ficus among the Arbores biferae:

"Tunc praecox biferâ descendit ab arbore ficus."

Ver. 154.

* "Squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis."

* This verse is admirably well adapted to express the thought.

Ver. 155, 156.

"Adde tot egregias urbes, operumque laborem:
"† Tot congesta * manu pracruptis oppida saxis."

† Virgil, in his panegyric on Italy, among other instances of the happiness of that country, mentions their having so many towns built on craggy rocks and hills. There were more formerly, and are several still. In the road from Rome to Naples, you see no less than four in one view, from the hill on which Piperno stands; reckoning that in for one of them. These were very useful, of old, for defence, among such a fighting race of people: and are so still for coolness; in so hot a climate, that they are generally forced to drive their flocks of sheep up upon the mountains for the Summer-season: as they usually feed them in the sheltered plains, or by the sea-side, in the Winter.

* Many of the towns in Italy stand on the tops of such high and steep rocks, that it seems impossible that any materials for building could be brought thither by carriages; and, therefore, Virgil calls them "congesta manu."

Ver. 161—164.

"An memorem portus, * Lucrinoque addita claustra,
"Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor:
"Julia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso,
"Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis?"

* Cassiodorus, in his Chronicle, says, the Lucrine lake was turned into a harbour in the Consulship of M. Agrippa and L. Caninius, who were Consuls in the year of the City 716.—— According to Ruaeus's calculation, Virgil began his Georgics this very year. Whether he did or not, it is probable, at least, that he was writing them at the time that this port was making, or just after it was made, being then about 34 years old; and therefore takes this opportunity to compliment Agrippa, and celebrate this work as one of the glories of Italy.

† "Portum Julium apud Baias, immisso in Lucrinum et Aver-"num lacum mari, effecit." Sueton. in Aug.

Ver. 165, 166.

"Haec eadem argenti rivos, aerisque * metalla
"Ostendit venis, atque auro plurima fluxit."

* "Metalla ejus regionis" (speaking of that part of Italy called Gallia Cisalpina) "hodiè non perinde magno studio trac-"tantur, quia (puto) plus utilitatis ex Transalpinis Gallicis et "Hispanicis percipitur: olim autem magnae erant curae. Nam "et Vercellis aurifodina fuit et Ictomuli, quae vicina sunt Pla-"centiae oppida." Strab. lib. V.

The same author, speaking of a river which divides Aquileia from the Veneti, says: "Habet is locus Auri lavacra, et sectu-"ras ferri praeclaras." Ibid.

VER. 167—170.

"Haec genus acre virûm, Marsos, pubemque * Sabellam,
"Assuetumque † malo Ligurem, Volscosque verutos
"Extulit: haec Decios, Marios, magnosque Camillos,
"Scipiadas duros bello."———

* This expression, as Ruaeus observes, Aen. VII. 665, means either Sabines or Samnites; but in this place it certainly means the latter, as Cluverius judiciously remarks. "Quum gravissima "et maximè diutina cum Samnitibus in Italiâ bella gesserint "Romani, haud dubium est, quin eam gentem non vero Sabi-"nos hic inter bellicosissimas Italiae gentes connumerare volue-"rit poëta." Cluv. lib. III. c. ix.——Pliny says: "Samnitium, "quos Sabellos et Graeci Saunitas dixêre, Colonia Bovianum." Lib. III. c. xii. And Horace probably means the same people, when, speaking of his own country, he says:

——— "Pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis."

If the Sabines were descended from the Samnites, and were of the same race, this expression of Virgil's may include both.

† "Assuetum malo;" Q. If not, laborious? Certainly something in praise of them here, though he speaks of the Genoese as a deceitful people on another occasion, Aen. XI. 716.

VER. 170—172.

——— "Et te, maxime Caesar,
"Qui nunc extremis Asiae jam victor in oris
"* Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum."

* Compare this with Aen. VI. ver. 794, etc.—Virgil tells us expressly at the latter end of his Georgics, that Caesar was in Asia whilst he was writing them.

This, according to Ruaeus and others, may signify, effeminate, not of a warlike disposition; but as it is intended as a compliment to Caesar, and as there is little honour in conquering an effeminate people, I rather believe that the word in this place signifies, "without war, without bloodshed." That is, Caesar

by his presence in Asia so awed the Indians, that they threw down their arms, and submitted without daring to come to battle. Silius Italicus, the great imitator of Virgil, pays the like compliment to Domitian with regard to the same people.

"Huic laxos arcus olim Gangetica pubes
"Submittet; vacuasque ostendent Bactra pharetras."

Statius, Sylv. IV. 4. and ver. 47. uses "imbelles" in the same sense. "Imbelles laurus:" Honours got without fighting.—Again, lib. III. Ecl. ii. 98.

—— "Imbellis, tumidoque nihil juratus Atridae:"

speaking of Phoenix, who attended Achilles without being engaged to fight.

+ Vexatissimus hic locus omnium quotquot vidi interpretum artes omnes elusisse videtur. Frustra fuerunt omnium interpretationes et commenta, quibus Virgilium ab Augusti frigidissime laudati culpa absolvere conati sunt. Vulgo haec intelligi volunt de celebri illa Indorum legatione amicitiam Augusti petentium, a Strabone, Dione, Eusebio, Suetonio, Floro, Eutropio, et Aurelio Victore memorata; sed, ut alia multa quae opponi possent taceam, non quadrat temporum ratio. Legationem enim illam non nisi post secundam Augusti in Orientem profectionem fuisse missam uno consensu tradunt historici, anno scilicet U. C. 733 aut 743, et nono aut decimo postquam Georgica absolvisset et edidisset Virgilius. Neque credibile est hunc, qui in Aeneide perficienda tunc totus erat, Georgica de novo recensita post decem annos iterum edidisse, aut, si hoc etiam detur, notam tamen temporis hic inseruisse, quae ei plane contradicat qua liber ultimus, totum adeo opus, clauditur:

"Haec super arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam,
"Et super arboribus; Caesar dum magnus ad altum
"Fulminat Eupraten bello, victorque volentes
"Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo."

Ubi victor proculdubio est victor Antonii et Cleopatrae, et cum iis Aegypti et totius Orientis, nam ne bellum quidem ullum ab Augusto in secunda profectione susceptum, nedum victoriam ullam ab eo partam tradunt historici. Notanda etiam sunt verba ista, "viamque affectat Olympo;" non igitur jam Olympum sibi vindicaverat, nec in Deorum numerum jam relatus fuerat; at notum est, post debellatum Antonium pacatumque Orientem, proximo statim anno, et templa sibi poni, et divinis se coli honoribus, passum fuisse. Rejecta igitur interpretatione illâ haec referente ad legationem Indicam, quam nunquam cogito quin mentem simul subit gemina illa prorsus ac germana ad

Ludovicum Magnum Galliarum Regem e Perside sub regni finem adornata legatio, videndum tandem ac tentandum an nobis felicius successerit loci hujus explicatio. Primum autem per "Imbellem Indum" hic praecipue denotari existimo Marcum Antonium, Augusti de orbis imperio aemulum. Hunc enim Georgicorum librum post partam victoriam Actiacam, dum Caesar jam victor, ad Actium scilicet, adhuc in extremis Asiae oris, id est, circa Aegypti confinia, cum exercitu versabatur, et ante debellatum Antonium captamque Alexandriam, fuisse scriptum vel hinc constat, quod nunc avertere, id est, in avertendo occupari, non avertisse, Imbellum Indum dicitur Caesar. Hunc vero M. Antonium, indole sua atque ingenio jam ab juventa voluptatibus nimis deditum, deinde ex diuturna in Aegypto commoratione, ubi Cleopatrae lenociniis detinebatur, desidia ac luxu totum diffluentem, moribusque Aegyptiis et Asiaticis ad omnem mollitiem imbutum, enervatum tandem prorsus ac imbellem evasisse, testantur uno ore omnes qui illorum temporum historiam scriptis tradiderunt. Neque vero Antonium solum hic designari autumo, sed cum eo una Aegyptum et omnem denique Orientem, quippe cujus gentes fere omnes, quam late Romanum patebat Imperium, ejus partes amplexae essent, ac, si vicisset, praecipuum victoriae praemium ablaturae credebantur, sede scilicet Orbis Imperii Roma Alexandriam translata. Hanc rem non parum illustrant quae alibi a nostro scripta sunt, ut Georg. I. ver. 509.

"Hinc movet Euphrates, illinc Germania, bellum."

Haec ante praelium ad Actium scripta fuisse, ex praecedentibus et sequentibus constat, et per Euphraten, Oriens et Antonii partes, per Germaniam, Occidens partesque Octaviani denotari intelliguntur. Ita in Aeneid. VIII. ver. 678, ubi acies utrinque ad pugnam instructas recenset noster; ex una parte,

"Hinc Augustus agens Italos in praelia Caesar,
"Cum patribus, populoque, penatibus, et magnis Diis."

ex altera parte, ver. 685.

"Hinc ope Barbarica variisque Antonius armis,
"Victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
"Aegyptum, viresque orientis, et ultima secum
"Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas!) Aegyptia conjux."

Et paulo infra:

——— "Omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
"Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei."

At omnem de interpretatione nostra dubitationem plane tollere videntur ista Poëtae nostri in Georg. III. ver. 26—29. ubi Augusti triumphos depingens ait,

"In foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
"Gangaridum faciam, victorisque arma Quirini;
"Atque hic undantem bello, magnumque fluentem
"Nilum, ac navali surgentis aere columnas."

Hic Quirinus certissime est ipse Augustus, (vide Servium ad locum); et Gangaridum pugna victoriam ex Antonianis in Aegypto ab eo relatam clarissime designat, quae interpretatio et a facta statim Nili mentione confirmatur. Gangaridae enim verae Indiae populi circa Gangem habitantes, quibuscum Augusto nihil unquam rei fuit, aut esse potuit, utpote adeo longe ab imperii Romani finibus remotis, ut ejus forsan ne nomen unquam audierant. Hic autem per figuram poëtis familiarem, Indi universim sumpti denotantur, et cum eodem nomine vulgo etiam censerentur Aethiopes et Arabes, qui sub Aegyptiorum ditionem comprehendebantur; hinc et Aegyptios hoc in loco intelligi vult Poëta. Nam sub Indiae appellatione complectebantur Veteres regiones eas omnes, quae trans Mare Mediterraneum sitae erant, et praecipue Aethiopiam, Arabiam, Aegyptum, Parthiam, Persidem, interdum etiam Libyam et Palaestinam. Hoc dudum argumentis invictis ostenderunt viri docti, Turnebus Adversar. XXI. 9. Cuper. Observat. lib. IV. cap. vii. Beausobr. in Bibliotheca Germanica, tom. XLI. p. 100—125. Freretus in Comment. Academiae Inscriptionum, tom. VI. p. 352. ut Huetium, J. Alb. Fabricium, Dickensonium nostratem, et alios taceam. Per arces Romanas hic intelligo, non, quod vulgo fit, in finibus Imperii Romani posita propugnacula, sed ipsam urbem Romam. Ita apud Horatium legimus, Od. I. vii. 5. "Intactae "Palladis arces," pro Athenis; ubi vide et alia ejusdem loquendi formae exempla a Bentleio congesta; Od. II. vi. 21, 22. "beatas arces," de Tibure; Epod. vii. 6. "superbas Carthaginis arces," pro ipsa Carthagine; et apud Statium Sylv. l. IV. iv. 4. "Romuleas arces," pro ipsa Roma. At praecipue Montem Arcem et Templum Capitolinum in animo habuisse Virgilium mihi persuasum est, quippe in quibus contineri existimabatur salus et fatum Urbis et Imperii Romani. Vide Rycquium de Capitolio, cap. xlvi. Adeo ut avertere ab Arcibus Romanis, idem hic valeat ac avertere ab Imperio Urbis ac Orbis Romani occupando. Nulla autem majori clade affligi potuisse res Romanas, quam si Antonius victoria potitus imperii summam tenuisset, et sub ejus auspiciis imbellis Indus Romae imperasset, omnes tunc temporis prudentes clare videbant. Ita Horatius, I. Od. xxxvii. 6.

——— " Dum Capitolio
" Regina dementis ruinas,
" Funus et imperio parabat,
" Contaminato cum grege turpium
" Morbo virorum."———

Idem, Epod. ix. 7.

" Ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
" Dux fugit ustis navibus," κ. τ. λ.

Ita Paterculus, XI. lxxxv. " Caesar Antoniusque, productis classibus, prosalute alter, in ruinam alter orbis terrarum, dimicavere."

Propertius, III. ix. 29.

" Quid, modo quae nostris opprobria vexerit armis,
" Et famulos inter femina trita suos ?
" Conjugii obsceni pretium Romana poposcit
" Moenia, et addictos in sua regna patres.

——— ——— ——— ———

" Septem urbs alta jugis, toto quae praesidet orbi,
" Femineas timuit territa Marte minas."

Ovidius, Metam. XV. 825.

——— " Frustraque erat illa minata
" Servitura suo Capitolia nostra Canopo."

Scilicet ab homine ignavo, otio ac mollitiis pene ultra feminam fluente, et qui se totum mulieri lascivae atque impotenti addixerat, nihil aliud expectandum erat, quam certum Romano et imperio et virtuti exitium. Hanc pestem, jam cum haec scribebat Virgilius, ab arcibus Romanis, ab Urbe, Capitolio, et Imperio Romano, victor avertebat Augustus ; neque ulla laus ei gratior esse potuit, quam tam praeclari facinoris ab eo incepti commemoratio. Ita Epitheton, Imbellis, hoc in loco laudes ejus adeo non minuit, ut etiam quam maxime augeat ; quanto enim imbellior Antonius, tanto major, eo depulso, gratia Augusto erat habenda. Adde, quod et exprobratio illa morum imbellium Antonio et ejus asseclis opportunissima erat, tum ad odium atque invidiam Populi Romani erga eum concitandum, tum ad affectus populares in amorem Augusti, qui dedecus illud Patriae tunc depellebat, conciliandos. Adeo ut nihil tunc temporis ad hujus laudes cumulandas magis aptum aut accommodatum excogitari poterat, atque Antonii ista vituperatio.

Denique et hoc animadversione dignum est, quod tradunt illorum temporum Historici, nempe Augustum semper prae se tulisse, contra Aegyptios et Cleopatram bellum se potius gerere,

quam contra Antonium, et qui partes ejus secuti sunt Romanos, ideoque super illis, non autem super his, supplicationes decerni voluisse. Dio. lib. LI. p. 457. *Και Καισαρι και ἑτερα και επινικια ὡς και των Αιγυπτιων αγαγειν εδοσαν· τον γαρ Αντωνιον και τους αλλους Ῥωμαιους τους συν εκεινῳ νικηθεντας, ουτε προτερον, ουτε τοτε, ὡς και ἑορταζειν σφας επ' αυτοις δεον ον, ωνομασαν.* Atque haec causa esse potuit, quod Virgilius nomen quidem Antonii, eo praesertim adhuc vivo, tacere maluerit, eumque cum caeteris ejus asseclis sub *imbellis Indi* appellatione comprehenderit. Postea, eo mortuo, et Augusto imperium summum sine rivali obtinente, minus huic erga nomen Romanum reverentiae indulgendum ratus est, ut videre licet in Aeneide.

[By the late judicious and learned Mr. Heath of Exeter.]

VER. 179—181.

" Difficiles primum terrae, collesque maligni,
" Tenuis ubi argilla et dumosis calculus arvis,
" Palladiâ gaudent sylvâ vivacis * olivae."

* " Aptissimum genus terrae est oleis, cui glarea subest, si " superposita creta sabulo admista est.—Creta ex toto repu- " dianda est, inimicus est etiam ager sabulo macer, et nuda " glarea." Col. lib. V. c. viii.—And again; " Sed et densior " terra, si uvida et laeta est, commode recipit hanc arborem:" which answers to what Virgil observes also, speaking of rich land:

——— " Illa ferax oleae est."

VER. 182, 183.

" Indicio est, tractu surgens oleaster eodem
" Plurimus, et strati baccis * sylvestribus agri."

* There is no occasion to confine this to wild olives, as most of the commentators do. Virgil is to be understood in a larger sense, and means any sort of berries. The land which is proper for olives producing commonly several sorts of trees that bear berries, as well as the wild olive.

VER. 184—187.

" At quae pinguis humus, dulcique uligine laeta,
" Quique frequens herbis et fertilis ubere campus,
" Qualem saepe cavâ montis * convalle solemus
" Despicere," etc.

* Columella, speaking of land most proper for vineyards, says; " Hyginus quidem secutus Tremellium, praecipue montium " ima, quae à verticibus defluentem humum receperint, vel

"etiam valles, quae fluminum alluvie et inundationibus con-"creverint, aptas esse vineis asseverat, me non dissentiente." Lib. III. c. ii.

VER. 191—194.

——— "Hic fertilis uvae,
"Hic laticis; qualem pateris libamus et auro,
"Inflavit cum * pinguis ebur Tyrrhenus ad aras,
"Lancibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta."

* Virgil applies this epithet only to the Tibicines, who were observed to be commonly very fat fellows; and might well be supposed to be so, being admitted to partake of all feasts and sacrifices. Whoever reads the story of the Tibicines in Livy, lib. IX. and Ovid's Fast. l. VI. cannot doubt but that they were famous for loving their bellies, and that this was Virgil's meaning. For we find, that they all quitted Rome in a body, and retired to Tybur, on an affront offered to their bellies: that they were brought back again to Rome by a drunken bout, and were persuaded to stay there only on condition that they should be admitted to eat at the sacrifices. And Livy in that very place severely taxes them as, "Genus vini avidum."—Observe how one of them is represented in the Basso Relievo of a vase in the Villa Justiniani.——See Virgil's like reproaches to the Tyrrheni in Tarchon's speech, Æn. XI. ver. 732 to 740.

VER. 203—205.

"Nigra *[1] fere, et presso pinguis sub vomere terra,
"Et cui putre *[2] solum, (namque hoc imitamur arando),
"Optima frumentis."———

* Fere is very properly added, and is very expressive. Columella observes, lib. II. c. ii. "Plurimos antiquorum, qui de "rusticis rebus scripserunt, quasi confessum nec dubium sig-"num pinguis ac frumentorum fertilis agri prodidisse nigrum "colorem, vel cinereum." Against whom he proves "a palu-"dibus, a campis salinarum, ab aliis locis, qui pigrum con-"tineant humorem, manifestum hunc esse errorem."—And concludes—"Non ergo color, tanquam certus auctor, testis est "bonitatis arvorum. Considerandum erit, ut solum, quod ex "colore destinamus, pingue sit." All this Virgil expresses by one word, Fere, and by subjoining "pinguis terra."

*[2] Columella quotes this verse, lib. II. c. ii. and again, lib. V. c. iv. and in both places explains "Putre solum" by, "quod per se resolutum est:" and adds in the former place, "Neque enim aliud est colere, quam resolvere et fermentare "terram."

VER. 212—214.

—— " ✳[1] Jejuna quidem clivosi glarea ruris
" Vix humiles apibus ✳[2] casias roremque ministrat;
" Et tophus ✳[3] scaber."———

✳[1] Jejuna is properly added to Glarea here: and this seems to be purposely enlarged upon, and explained by Columella, lib. III. c. xi. " Solutam glaream, calculosumque agrum, et " mobilem lapidem probari, —— si tamen haec pingui glebae " permista sunt: nam eadem jejuna maximè culpantur."—— And again afterwards—" Cretosa humus utilis habetur viti: " per se ipsa creta, quâ utuntur figuli, quamque nonnulli Ar- " gillam vocant, inimicissima est."

✳[2] Pliny describes it in the same chapter with Cinnamon, and therefore it may be thought to belong to the same class, and is commonly rendered by interpreters Cinnamon, but perhaps improperly. Pliny says it is a Frutex as well as the Cinnamon, and that it came from the same country; but with this difference, that Cinnamon grew on the plains, Casia on the mountains. And that whereas the bark of the Cinnamon tree was most valued, on the contrary, in the Casia, the bark was to be taken off, and the only valuable part was a thin skin. See Pliny, lib. XII. c. ix. It is this sort of spice Virgil undoubtedly means, when he says;

" Nec casiâ liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi."
Georg. II. 466.

The Casia mentioned by Virgil in other places, particularly here, was some common sweet herb in Italy, as is well observed by Dr. Martyn. See his note on that place.

✳[3] Tophus is a very rough stone like the pumice stone, and therefore very properly called Scaber; it differs from the pumice stone in weight. Vitruvius, speaking of the burnt stones and sand about mount Vesuvius and Baiae, says, " Ignis et " flammae vapor penitus per intervenia permanans et ardens " efficit levem illam terram; et ibi qui nascitur tophus exugens " est, et sine liquore."——And in the same chapter he calls this burnt stone by the name of " spongia et pumex:" by which it is plain that he reckons the difference between the Pumex and Tophus to be this; that the former is dry and without moisture, and consequently must be lighter than the Tophus. This stone is now called by the Italians, Tufo. There is abundance of it in the Campagna of Rome.

VER. 217, 218.

" ✳ Quae tenuem exhalat nebulam fumosque volucres;
" Et bibit humorem, et cum vult ex se ipsa remittit."

* These verses contain a very nice description of the nature of the Campania Felix, which has generally a thin mist hanging over it some part of the day; which preserves it from being dry, though continually cultivated: And though there is scarce any running water over so large a tract, yet its own natural moisture (and that without dampness) still maintains it rich and fertile. This thin mist flying like smoke from the foot of mount Vesuvius and the Surrentine hills over the Campania is so frequent, that it has often put me in mind of this description.

Ver. 219—225.

" Quaeque suo viridi semper se gramine vestit,
" Nec scabie et salsâ laedit rubigine ferrum;
" Illa tibi laetis intexet vitibus ulmos:
" Illa ferax oleae est: illam experiere colendo
" Et facilem pecori, et patientem vomeris unci.
" Talem dives arat Capua, et *[1] vicina Vesevo
" Ora jugo, et vacuis *[2] Clanius non aequus Acerris."

*[1] However Gellius came by the story he relates, it is not probable that Virgil ever thought of Nola in this place. The coast from Naples is very fruitful; and as Virgil is supposed to have wrote this at or near Naples, and had this coast every day in his view, is it likely that he should pay this compliment to a distant town, and forget his favourite country?—I doubt whether the land about Nola merits the praises here given; but if it does, it is comprehended under Clanius near whose banks it stands.

*[2] Cluver, lib. IV. c. ii. gives us the following description of the Clanius. " Amnis, qui medio ferè situ inter Avellam et " Nolam exortus, ac dextrâ ripâ Acerras oppidum, quod vulgò " nunc etiam dicitur Acerra et Cerra, praelapsus, tria fermè " millia passuum ab Cumis, cujus ruinae hodieque Cuma vocan- " tur, in mare se effundit vulgari nunc vocabulo Il Lagno:" and in few lines, after having quoted this passage of Virgil, adds, " Certè hodieque totus hic amnis a fonte usque ad os- " tium ab utrinque paludibus clauditur: ideoque superioribus " annis Praesides regni Neapolitani varias hic egêre fossas, quae " superstagnantes amnis simul et paludum aquas exciperent, " breviorique cursu inter Vulturnum et vetus Clanii ostium in " mare effunderent. Clanius est apud Acerras in Campaniâ, " qui, cùm creverit, meditatur pestem terrae." Vibius Sequester in catalogo Fluminum.

Ver. 226—229.

" Nunc quo quamque modo possis cognoscere, dicam,
" Rara sit, an supra morem si densa, requiras:

"(Altera frumentis quoniam favet, altera Baccho;
"Densa magis Cereri; * rarissima quaeque, Lyaeo)."

* "Quia densa radicibus ad comprehendum iniqua," Col. lib. III. c. ii. And further adds in the same chapter: "Hoc "in totum, ad illud quod vineis praecipuè est idoneum, pro- "priè considerandum, ut prius retuli; si facilis est humus, et "modicè resoluta, quam diximus pullam vocitari."

VER. 246, 247.

"At * sapor indicium faciet manifestus, et ora
"Tristia tentantum sensu torquebit amaror."

* See A. Gellii Noct. Att. l. I. c. xxi. Sapor signifies both Smell and Taste—Savour.

VER. 248—250.

"Pinguis item quae sit tellus, hoc denique pacto
"Discimus: haud unquam manibus * jactata fatiscit,
"Sed picis in morem ad digitos lentescit habendo."

* This Columella expresses thus; "Illisa humo non dissipa- "tur, et quovis levissimo tactu pressa inhaerescit," and then quotes this verse,

"Picis in morem," l. II. c. ii.

This he brings as a proof of fat land, and then proceeds to prescribe the other experiments, which seem to be almost copied from Virgil.

VER. 259—264.

"His animadversis, *[1] terram multo *[2] ante memento
"Excoquere, et *[3] magnos scrobibus concidere montes;
"Ante supinatas Aquiloni ostendere glebas,
"Quam laetum infodias vitis genus: optima putri
"Arva solo: id venti curant, gelidaeque pruinae,
"Et labefacta movens robustus jugera fossor."

*[1] Here Virgil is giving directions for digging holes or ditches for planting vines; and as the principal thing to be observed was to have the ground well mellowed and loose, this the Poet inculcates in strong terms: saying, that the Fossor should be Robustus, and by "movens labefacta" the repetition shews that it ought to be much and well worked. He likewise directs laying the earth exposed to the north, that the cold and frost may mellow the ground. Columella treats at large of this head, lib. III. c. xiii. etc. and says; "Non parum refert sus- "pensissimum esse pastinatum, et, si fieri possit, vestigio quoque "inviolatum: ut mota aequaliter humus novelli seminis radi-

"cibus, quamcunque in partem prorepserint, molliter cedat: "ne incrementa duritia sua reverberet, sed tenero velut nutritio "sinu recipiat, et caelestes admittat imbres, eosque alendis "seminibus dispenset; ac suis omnibus partibus ad educandam "prolem novam conspiret."——He explains Pastinum thus: "Quicquid emoti soli vineis praeparatur Repastinatum vocatur." cap. xviii.—See Columella's description of planting vines in holes, and likewise in the Quincunx, lib. III. c. xiii.

*[2] "Si scrobibus aut sulcis vineam posituri erimus, optimum "erit ante annum scrobes vel sulcos facere." The Author of the book De Arboribus, usually ascribed to Columella.

*[3] Dr. Martyn says, "he can hardly forbear thinking that "Virgil wrote *Magnis*, which will make the sense be, To cut "the hills with great trenches:" but proposes this only as a conjecture, for he owns it is *Magnos* in all the copies he has seen. It is reasonable to believe with the Doctor that Virgil, in imitation of Theophrastus, whom, as the Doctor observes, he seems to copy in this place, directs making trenches for planting vines very deep. This is still the practice in Italy; and so, I think, we may understand Virgil without altering *Magnos*. For if there is sufficient earth dug out of the trenches to raise large hills, consequently the trenches must be large too. Whoever has seen the manner of planting a new vineyard in Italy, will easily have an idea of the Poet's meaning in this sense: for the plainest field at such a time is nothing but great hills and ditches. I propose this too only as a conjecture; but in favour of it one may further observe, that Dr. Martyn's other interpretation, (viz.) *To cut the hills with great trenches*, can properly be applied only to vineyards on hilly grounds; whereas Virgil's rule is general, and relates to all new planted vineyards, whether on hills or plains. And it is certain he is to be understood of both, for he says presently after:

"Collibus an plano melius sit ponere vitem
"Quaere prius." Ver. 274.

VER. 265—268.

"At si quos haud ulla viros vigilantia fugit;
"Ante locum similem exquirunt, ubi prima paretur
"Arboribus seges, et quo mox digesta feratur:
"* Mutatam ignorent subito ne semina matrem."

* Plants, from the rich nurseries about London, frequently suffer when transplanted.

VER. 274—278.

——— "Sin pinguis agros metabere campi;
"Densa sere: in *[1] denso non segnior ubere Bacchus.

" Sin tumulis acclive solum, collesque supinos;
" Indulge *[2] ordinibus: nec *[3] secius omnis in unguem
" Arboribus positis secto via limite quadret."

*[1] " Densa terra" is close land, the opposite to Resoluta; in such land the roots cannot spread, and therefore vines may be planted close.

*[2] " Indulge ordinibus."—Give a greater loose, more liberty to the vines, by widening the rows.

*[3] " Nec secius."—Nevertheless, (i. e.) as well in this way of planting wide, as in the other of planting thick, observe always to plant exactly at equal distances, for the reasons given afterwards.

VER. 288—292.

" Forsitan et scrobibus quae sint fastigia quaeras
" Ausim vel * tenui vitem committere sulco.
" Altius ac penitus terrae defigitur arbos:
" Aesculus imprimis, quae quantum vertice ad auras
" Aethereas, tantum radice in Tartara tendit."

* This does not in the least interfere with the above-mentioned rule of making deep trenches for planting vines. For though it might not be necessary to set the shoots deep; yet it was requisite to make the trenches so, that the earth being loosened all round, the roots might have room to spread, and more easily receive nourishment.

VER. 298—302.

" Neve tibi ad solem vergant vineta *[1] cadentem:
" Neve *[2] inter vites corylum sere: neve flagella
" *[3] Summa pete, aut summas defringe ex arbore plantas:
" (Tantus amor terrae!) neu ferro laede *[4] retuso
" Semina: neve oleae sylvestres insere truncos."

*[1] Columella, lib. III. c. xii. says, " Quam regionem coeli " spectare debeant vineae, vetus est dissensio; Sasernâ maxime " probante solis ortum, mox deinde meridiem, tum occasum: " Tremellio Scrofâ praecipuam positionem meridianam censente: " Virgilio de industriâ occasum sic repudiante,

" Neve tibi ad solem," etc.

" Nobis in universum praecipere optimum visum est, ut in " locis frigidis meridiano vineta subjiciantur; tepidis, orienti " advertantur."

*[2] It is an observation of the learned Gassendus, that several plants are affected by others growing too near them: (e. g.) if you set white Hellebore or the herb Mercury near the Vine,

the grapes will acquire a purging faculty, lib. De Plantis, cap. iii. De facultatibus Plantarum. And Dodonaeus, lib. V. c. xxxvii. describing his Raphanus Montanus, says, that it hath been found by experience, that this plant doth hinder the growing of the Vine; and being planted near it, doth cause the Vine to starve or wither away.—Pliny asserts the same: " Odit vitis " et caulem, et olus omne; odit et corylum; ni procul absint, " tristis et aegra," lib. XVII. c. xxiv.

*[3] Here are two prohibitions; 1st, Not to take just the top of any branch for planting; nor, 2dly, To choose the shoots from the top of a tree. Both the precepts are largely explained by Columella in a chapter entitled, " Ex quâ vitis parte semina " eligenda sunt," lib. III. c. x. " Feracissima semina sunt, " non ut veteres auctores tradiderunt, extrema pars ejus, quod " caput vitis appellant, id est, ultimum et productissimum flagellum; sed id sarmentum quod mediâ vite situm, non importunâ quidem parte deficit, ac numeroso foetu benignitatem " suam ostendit." Again for the other part, he says; " Majores nostri etiam ex foecundo malleolo, quem ipsi probassent, " decisam sagittam repudiabant."—And again afterwards. " Sagittam, id est, superiorem partem malleoli, vituperandam " censebant."—And, c. xvii. he explains what Sagitta means. " Sagittam rustici vocant novissimam partem surculi," etc. And then gives his reasons, why it should be rejected.

" Defringe" has its force likewise; and contains a third prohibition.

*[4] Columella says, lib. IV c. xxiv. " Magnopere monendus " putator est ut prolixet aciem ferramenti; et, quantum possit, " novaculae similem reddat." In the next chapter he describes the figure of the Falx; and, in both chapters, speaks largely of the sharpness of it: which is too plain to be insisted on, or quoted.

Ver. 319—324.

" *[1] Optima vinetis satio est, cum vere rubenti
" Candida venit avis longis invisa colubris:
" Prima vel autumni sub frigora, cum *[1] rapidus sol
" Nondum hiemem contingit equis, jam praeterit aestas;
" Ver adeo frondi nemorum, ver utile sylvis:
" Vere tument terrae, et genitalia semina poscunt."

Columella prescribes the same seasons, lib. III. c. xiv. " Vinea vel vere vel autumno tempestivè deponitur. Vere " melius, si aut pluvius aut frigidus status coeli est; aut ager " pinguis, aut campestris et uliginosa planities. Rursus autumno, si sicca, si calida est aëris qualitas; si exilis atque " aridus campus: si macer praeruptusve collis."—The reasons

given a little before by Columella for allowing liberty to the roots to spread, will hold strongly in favour of Virgil's rule, not to plant in Winter.

"Rura gelu cum claudit hiems," etc. Ver. 317.

*[3] This epithet is very properly applied to the sun at any time of the year, but more emphatically so when the days are shortening; for then he finishes his course sooner, and seems to be more in haste. This thought, which is here expressed in one epithet, Virgil expatiates more largely on, ver. 481.

"Quid tantum oceano properent se tingere soles
"Hiberni; vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet."

Ver. 325—327.

"Tum * Pater omnipotens foecundis imbribus Aether
"Conjugis in gremium laetae descendit; et omnes
"Magnus alit, magno commixtus corpore, foetus."

* Thus Lucretius:

——— "Pereunt imbres, ubi eos Pater Aether
"In gremium Matris Terraï praecipitavit," l. I. ver. 251.

† And several of the Poets that preceded Virgil. See Pol. XX. 30.

Ver. 130—334.

"Parturit almus ager: Zephyrique tepentibus auris
"Laxant arva sinus: superat tener omnibus humor:
"Inque novos soles audent se gramina tuto
"Credere: nec metuit surgentes pampinus † Austros,
"Aut actum coelo magnis † Aquilonibus imbrem."

† The antients seem to have imagined not only a principal Deity of the winds, for each quarter of the heavens; but also a number of inferior ones, under each of the principal. See Pol. XIII. 37.

Ver. 336—342.

"Non alios primâ crescentis origine mundi
"Illuxisse dies, aliumve habuisse tenorem
"Crediderim: ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
"Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri;
"Cum primum lucem pecudes hausêre, virûmque
"* Ferrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis;
"† Immissaeque ferae sylvis, et sidera caelo."

* Dr. Martyn observes, that on the authority of Lactantius some read *Terrea:* but he supposes that it is an error in the

copy of Lactantius. With submission, I think Terrea the true reading. For the Poet supposing that God created every thing in the Spring, because the world in its first infancy could not have resisted the violence of great heat or cold; and, imagining that man sprang like a plant out of the ground, it would have been very improper for him to have used the epithet Ferrea on such an occasion, when he was speaking of the tenderness of man.

† This seems to be oddly put together at first sight. "The "forests were stocked with beasts, and the heavens with constellations." It was not so in those times, when the constellations were generally considered as real animals; many of them as men, but most of them as beasts.

This consideration gives a stronger light to a great number of passages in the antient Poets; who represent the constellations in general as animals, with animal motions, and even as coming down on our earth.

The prologue to Plautus's Rudens is spoken by Arcturus, as one of the Dramatis Personae. He tells us there, that all the constellations come down by day, to see how men act upon earth; and to inform Jupiter every evening of their behaviour. This notion, however wild, may shew how much they considered the constellations as detached, particular, animal beings.

Ovid uses a manner of expression very much like that of Virgil's above; on the very same occasion:

> " Neu regio foret ulla suis animantibus orba;
> " Astra tenent caeleste solum, formaeque deorum;
> " Terra feras cepit."———Met. I. ver. 75.

Thus Statius calls the Sea-nymphs, the constellations of the sea; (that is, the intelligent and divine inhabitants of the waters, as the other are of the heavens):

> ——— " Antennae gemino considite cornu,
> " Oebalii fratres!———
> " Vos quoque caeruleum, Divae Nerïdes, agmen!
> " Dicere quae magni fas sit mihi sidera ponti."
> Lib. III. Sylv. ii. ver. 15.

The same Poet represents Aurora as driving the stars out of heaven, with a whip, like so many beasts:

> " Tempus erat junctos cum jam soror ignea Phoebi
> " Sentit equos, penitusque cavam sub luce paratâ
> " Oceani mugire domum: seseque vagantem
> " Colligit: et moto leviter fugat astra flagello."
> Theb. VIII. ver. 274.

Manilius uses the word, Flock, in speaking of a number of stars; and represents them going on like a flock of sheep, or any other animals:

——" Cum secretis improvidus Hoedus in astris,
" Erranti similis, fratrum vestigia quaerit;
" Postque gregem, longo producitur intervallo."
Astron. V. ver. 308.

VER. 346—353.

———" Quaecunque premes *[1] virgulta per agros,
" Sparge fimo pingui, et multâ memor occule terrâ:
" Aut lapidem bibulum, *[2] aut squalentes infode conchas.
" Inter enim labentur aquae, tenuisque subibit
" Halitus; atque animos tollent sata: jamque reperti
" Qui saxo *[3] super atque ingentis pondere testae
" Urgerent: hoc effusos munimen ad imbres;
" Hoc, ubi hiulca siti findit canis aestifer arva."

*[1] Observe, he directs, " Spargere virgulta fimo, occulere " terrâ, et multâ," because little dung was to be used to plants, if any. Columella says, "M. Columella patruus meus doctissi- " mus et diligentissimus agricola negabat stercus vitibus inge- " rendum, quod saporem vini corrumperet: melioremque cense- " bat esse materiam vindemiis exuberandis congestitiam, vel de " vepribus, vel denique aliam quam libet arcessitam et advectam " humum," lib. II. c. xvi. Again l. V. c. vi. " Vites depo- " sitas stercoremus (ut ego existimo), si minus, terrâ subactâ " operiamus."

*[2] Columella quotes this passage, and approves of the precept, lib. III. c. xv.

*[3] This is practised about Trani in Apulia, where they make excellent Muscat; and, if I mistake not, about St. Laurent in Provence.

VER. 354—357.

" Seminibus positis, superest deducere *[1] terram
" *[2] Saepius ad *[3] capita, et duros *[4] jactare bidentes:
" Aut presso exercere solum sub vomere, et ipsa
" Flectere *[5] luctantes inter vineta juvencos."

*[1] Columella gives directions together, about digging round young vine plants, and taking off the leaves.——" Primo quidem " anno, quo posita sunt semina, frequentibus fossionibus, omni- " bus mensibus, dum frondent, ac pampinationibus adjuvanda " sunt; ut robur accipiant," lib. IV. c. x.——And c. vii. he orders, the leaves to be taken off gently, with the fingers— " Omnis pampinationis ea est tempestivitas, dum adeo teneri " palmites sunt, ut levi tactu digiti decutiantur "

*[2] Columella, speaking of the month of May, says, " Hoc " mense seminaria omnia crebrò fodere oportebit: sed à ka- " lendis Martiis usque in idus Septembres omnibus mensibus " non solum seminariis, sed etiam novellis vineis danda fossio " est." l. XI. c. ii. And again, afterwards, he says, " De " fodiendis colendisve novellis vineis, saepius jam dixi nullum " esse mensem omittendum, donec autumnale aequinoctium " conficiatur."

*[3] Quaer. If this does not mean to cover even the top of the young plants with mould? Columella directs the same, lib. III. c. xvi. where, speaking of planting young vines, he says, " Cum semen supra scrobem compluribus internodiis produc- " tum, quod de cacumine superest, duabus gemmis tantum supra " terram relictis amputatur, et ingestâ humo scrobis com- " pletur."

*[4] The author of the book De Arboribus, usually ascribed to Columella, says, " Bidentibus terram vertere utilius est, " quàm aratro. Bidens aequaliter totam terram vertit; ara- " trum, praeterquam quod scamna facit, tum etiam boves, qui " arant, aliquantulum virgarum, et interdum totas vites, " frangunt," cap. xii.

The antients, as well as the moderns, in some places, houghed the land between the ranks of vines, in others ploughed it. And, according as the custom of the country, or as the land required one or the other; they planted their vines at a less or greater distance. Thus Columella, lib. III. c. xiii. " Inter " ordines vinearum relinquitur spatium, prout cuique mos est " vineas colere vel aratro vel bidente. Si fossore tantum terra " versetur, minimum est quinque pedum interordinium, septem " maximum; sin bubus et aratro, minimum est septem pedum, " satis amplum decem. Nonnulli tamen omnem vitem per denos " pedes in quincuncem disponunt, ut more novalium terra trans- " versis adversisque sulcis proscindatur." This is repeated again, lib. V. c. v.

*[5] It is the custom in Provence and Languedoc, as well as in Italy, to plough up the distances between the vines, where there is sufficient room; where there is not, to hough the land in the spring-time.—" Flectere luctantes juvencos" expresses very naturally and livelily this sort of ploughing.

Luctantes well expresses the difficulty of ploughing among vineyards and plantations, as they are obliged to do in Italy: on which occasion Columella gives the following direction.— " Boves, cùm ad arborem venerint, fortiter retinere ac retardare " oportet, ne in radicem majore nisu vomis impactus colla com- " moveat, neve aut cornu bos ad stipitem vehementiùs offendat, " aut extremo jugo truncum delibet ramumque deplantet." Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 358—361.

" Tum *[1] leves calamos, et rasae hastilia virgae,
" Fraxineasque aptare sudes, furcasque bicornes:
" Viribus eniti quarum, et contemnere ventos
" Assuescant, summasque sequi *[2] tabulata per ulmos."

*[1] Leves, and Rasae, such as cannot grow and draw thereby any of the virtue of the earth. For the same reason, Columella, speaking of supporting young vines, orders that they should be old—" Aut veteres (ne novae radicem agant) arun-" dines binas singulis vitibus applicabimus; aut si regionis " conditio permittat, vetera, deponemus hastilia, quibus adnec-" tantur singulae transversae perticae." Lib. IV. c. xii.

*[2] Tabulata were stages or stories formed on elms, or other trees, for their vines. The manner of doing this is fully explained by Columella, lib. V. c. vi. " Cum adolescere inci-" pient ulmi, falce formandae et tabulata instituenda sunt. " Hoc enim nomine usurpant agricolae ramos truncosque pro-" minentes; eosque vel propius ferro compescunt, vel longius " promittunt, ut vites laxiùs diffundantur: Hoc in solo pingui " melius, illud in gracili."——Then he proceeds to direct the making these Tabulata. " Tabulata inter se ne minus ternis " pedibus absint; atque ita formentur ne superior ramus in " eâdem lineâ sit, quâ inferior; nam demissum ex eo palmitem " germinantem inferior atteret, et fructum decutiet."——Again afterwards: " Ulmum autem novellam sic formare conveniet. " Loco pingui octo pedes à terrâ sine ramo relinquendi, vel in " arvo gracili septem pedes: Supra quod spatium deinde per " circuitum in tres partes arbor dividenda est, ac tribus late-" ribus singuli ramuli submittendi primo Tabulato assignentur. " Mox ternis pedibus interpositis, alii rami summittendi sunt, " ita ne iisdem lineis quibus in superiore positi sint; in eâdem " ratione usque in cacumen ordinanda erit arbor." An emphasis is to be laid on Summas, under which epithet is couched a precept much insisted on by Columella, who thus proceeds: " Plerique agricolae ima tabulata materiis frequentant, uberio-" rem fructum et magis facilem cultum sequentes; at qui " bonitati vini student, in summas arbores vitem promovent."

VER. 362—370.

——— " *[1] Dum prima novis adolescit frondibus aetas,
" Parcendum teneris: et dum se laetus ad auras
" Palmes agit, laxis per purum immissus habenis,
" Ipsa acies nondum falcis tentanda; sed uncis
" Carpendae manibus frondes, interque legendae.
" Inde ubi jam validis amplexae stirpibus ulmos
" Exierint; tum stringe comas, tum brachia tonde,

"Ante reformidant ferrum: tum denique dura
"Exerce imperia, et ramos compesce *[2] fluentes."

*[1] Columella, who has constantly followed Virgil, has here expressly condemned him; but it is in very good company.—His whole passage is thus: "Illam veterem opinionem damnavit usus, non esse ferro tangendos anniculos malleolos, quod aciem reformident: quod frustra Virgilius et Saserna, Stolonesque et Catones timuerunt: qui non solùm in eo errabant, quod primi anni capillamenta seminum intacta patiebantur; sed et post biennium cum viviradix recidenda erat, omnem superficiem amputabant solo tenus juxta ipsum articulum, ut è duro pullularet." Lib. IV. c. xi.—He says in the former chapter: "Semina primo quidem anno quo sunt posita frequentibus fossionibus, omnibus mensibus dum frondent, ac pampinationibus adjuvanda sunt, ut robur accipiant; nec plus quam uni materiae serviant." By which, I suppose, he means, that all the shoots, except one, are to be cut off the first year. If Virgil differs from him in this, and letting all the shoots alone till the second year, he has erred in good company, and has followed the antient method, as Columella himself intimates. And though Virgil does not cut off any of the first year's shoots, yet he orders the leaves to be stript; "nec patitur vitem supervacuis frondibus luxuriantem silvescere," as Columella himself expresses it, cap. xi. As to the second part of Columella's charge, I don't see that Virgil is justly taxed: for he only expresses himself at large,

——"Tum brachia tonde."

And again,

——"Et ramos compesce fluentes,"

which need not be construed to mean, cutting the shoots down to the ground; but pruning them, as Columella himself directs: "Media igitur ratio sequenda est," etc. Ibid.

*[2] Dr. Martyn says, Pierius tells us, that the oldest Roman manuscript reads Valentes, and thinks that both the precept and expression were taken from Varro. But, in my opinion, the passage quoted from Varro shews rather that Valentes is not the true reading: for he orders two or three of the most healthy shoots (qui plurimum valent) to be left, the others to be cut off.

Ver. 376—384.

"Frigora nec tantum canâ concreta pruinâ,
"Aut gravis incumbens scopulis arentibus aestas;
"Quantum illi nocuere greges, durique venenum
"Dentis, et admorso signata in stirpe cicatrix.

"Non aliam ob culpam * Baccho caper omnibus aris
"Caeditur, et veteres ineunt proscenia ludi:
"Praemiaque † ingentes pagos et compita circum
"Theseïdae posuere: atque inter pocula laeti
"Mollibus in pratis unctos saliere per utres."

* "Quaedam pecudes culturae sunt inimicae, ac veneno, ut "caprae. Omnia novella sata carpendo corrumpunt; non mi-"nimùm vites atque oleas. Itaque propterea institutum diversâ "de causâ, ut ex caprino genere ad alii Dei aram hostia addu-"ceretur, ad alii non sacrificaretur, cum ab eodem odio alter "videre nollet, alter etiam videre pereuntem vellet. Sic fac-"tum, ut Libero patri, repertori vitis, hirci immolarentur, "proinde ut capite darent poenas. Contra, ut Minervae ca-"prini generis nihil immolarent, propter oleam, quod eam, "quam laeserit, fieri dicunt sterilem: ejus enim salivam esse "fructuis venenum." Varro, De re rust. lib. I. c. ii.

† "Ingentes pagos" does not sound Virgilian; and the passage is much more clear, and better poetry, with the alteration mentioned by two or three of the critics, who read Ingeniis, instead of Ingentes.

Ver. 388—392.

"Et te, Bacche, vocant per carmina laeta, tibique
"† Oscilla ex altâ suspendunt mollia pinu.
"Hinc omnis largo pubescit vinea foetu:
"Complentur vallesque cavae, saltusque profundi;
"* Et quocunque Deus circum caput egit † honestum."

† Virgil speaks here of some little heads of Bacchus, which the countrymen of old hung upon trees, that the face might turn every way; out of a notion, that the regards of this God gave fertility to their vineyards: and Ovid mentions Bacchus's turning his face towards him, as a blessing, Fast. III. 789. The former, in the passage above; which is not very easy to be understood of itself; and for the full understanding of which I was obliged to a gem, in the Great Duke's collection at Florence. See Pol. pl. XX. fig. ii.—Virgil here says, that there is plenty wherever this God turns "his beautiful face." Mr. Dryden, in his translation of the words, seems to have borrowed his idea of Bacchus from the vulgar representations of him on our sign-posts; and so calls it (in downright English) "Bacchus's honest face."

* Columella, quoting this verse, says: "Quod de sacro "numine poëta dicit, verum quocunque Domini praesentis "oculi frequenter accessere, in eâ parte majorem in modum "fructus exuberat." Lib. iii. c. xxi.

Ver. 397—400.

" Est etiam ille labor curandis vitibus alter,
" Cui nunquam exhausti satis est: namque omne quotannis
" Terque * quaterque solum scindendum, glebaque versis
" Aeternùm frangenda bidentibus."———

* This rule is excellently well expressed, for it directs frequent digging; which " terque quaterque" imports: and at the same time intimates the usual number of times to be three or four: and that his meaning might not be mistaken, he enforces frequent digging by what follows, " Aeternùm," etc. So Columella directs " crebras fossiones" in general terms, and then adds: " Nec inficior plerosque ante me rusticarum rerum " magistros tribus fossionibus (vinearum) contentos fuisse, ex " quibus Graecinus; qui sic refert: Potest videri satis esse " constitutam vineam ter fodere." etc. Lib. IV. c. xxviii.

Ver. 403—407.

——— " Seras posuit cum vinea frondes,
" Frigidus et sylvis Aquilo decussit honorem;
" Jam tum acer curas venientem extendit in annum
" Rusticus, et curvo Saturni dente relictam
" Persequitur vitem attondens, fingitque * putando."

* Columella says: " Putandi duo sunt tempora: melius (ut " ait Mago) vernum: Sed nec utique verno omnibus regioni- " bus melior putatio est. Nam ubi caelum frigidum est, ea " sine dubio eligenda est: Ubi vero aprica loca sunt, mollesque " hiemes (as at Naples) optima et maximè naturalis est Autum- " nalis: Quo tempore divinâ quâdam lege et aeternâ fructum " cum fronde stirpes deponunt." Lib. IV. c. x.——Virgil follows the same direction of nature:

——— " Seras posuit cum vinea frondes."

Again Columella says: " Placet ergo, si mitis ac temperata " permittit in eâ regione quam colimus coeli clementia, factâ " vindemiâ secundum idus Octob. auspicari putationem. Sin " autem coeli status frigidus et pruinosus hiemis violentiam " denunciat, in idus Feb. hanc curam differemus." Cap. xxiii.

Ver. 410, 411.

——— " *[1] Bis vitibus ingruit umbra,
" Bis *[2] segetem densis obducunt sentibus herbae."

*[1] Columella, lib. XI. c. ii. speaking of prid. kal. Mai. says: " Per hos dies prima pampinatio rectè inchoatur, dum prorepentes oculi digito decuti possint."——Again, in the same

chapter, he says: "Ab idib. Mai. usque in kal. Jun. veteranam "vineam et caeteras omnes vineas pampinare oportet."—— Again, afterwards, sub finem Aug. he says: "Multi etiam, si "pluvius est status caeli, sicut suburbanâ regione Italiae, pam- "pinis vitem spoliant, ut percoqui fructus possint, nec putres- "cere imbribus. At è contrario locis calidioribus, ut in Bae- "ticâ, maritimis regionibus, et in Africâ, circa vindemiam "adumbrantur stramentis vel aliis tegumentis uvae, ne ventis "aut caloribus exarescant."——This precept is confirmed by Palladius, in Aug. tit.—"Aug. mense ultimo locis frigidis "pampinatur; locis autem ferventibus ac siccis obumbratur "potiùs uva."——So Columella says, lib. IV. c. xxviii. "Tempus pampinationis antequam florem vitis ostendat max- "ime eligendum est: Sed et postea licet eandem repetere." And again: "Pubescentem verò et quasi adolescentem convenit "foliis omnibus nudare." Ibid.

*[2] Segetem; i. e. segetem vitium, the young plants, the nursery. So ver. 266.

——— "Ubi prima paretur
"Arboribus seges."———

VER. 412.

——— "* Laudato ingentia rura,
"Exiguum colito."———

* Columella, lib. I. c. iii. calls this "Praeclaram nostri "Poëtae sententiam." And adds immediately after: "Nec "dubium quin minus reddat laxus ager non rectè cultus, quàm "angustus eximiè." And, lib. IV. c. ii. he relates a story which very much confirms the truth of this sentence.

VER. 413—415.

——— "Nec non etiam aspera rusci
"*[1] Vimina per sylvam, et ripis fluvialis arundo
"Caeditur: *[2] incultique exercet cura salicti."

*[1] The antients as well as moderns, who had land proper for it, used to have in some part of their ground Arundineta and Salicta, for the use of their vineyards; but those whose lot fell in dry land, which was not proper for such plantations, or who had neglected making them, were obliged to seek for the wild Vimina in the woods, and reeds by the water-side. That Virgil means such as these, is manifest from his "Vimina per sylvam, "fluvialis arundo," and "inculti salicti."——Columella having treated, lib. IV. c. xxx. de salicibus, and c. iii. de genistis, adds in this last chapter: "Caetera vincula, qualia sunt ex "rubo, majorem operam, sed in egeno tamen necessariam,

"exigunt." All such sort of Vimina are meant by Virgil, by his "aspera rusci vimina."

*[2] Inculti, i. e. nisi colatur—for several had beds of willows, but every body had not that provision: of such Virgil says, that they must have the trouble of getting wild willows. Exercet inclines me to this interpretation; or it may signify only, "quod non colitur," because at the beginning of this book, amongst those "quae sponte suâ veniunt," Virgil reckons Salicta. See ver. 11 and 13.

Ver. 416.

"Jam vinctae vites, jam falcem * arbusta reponunt."

* Arbustum is used commonly for a plantation of any trees; as for example, such as are to support vines. Vid. Columella, lib. V. c. De Ulmariis.

Ver. 417—419.

"Jam *[1] canit extremos effoetus vinitor antes;
"Sollicitanda tamen tellus, pulvisque *[2] movendus:
"Et jam *[3] maturis metuendus Jupiter uvis."

*[1] Columella hints at the custom of the Vignerol's singing at his work, telling us that he makes such verses:

"Quae canat inter opus musâ modulante putator
"Pendulus arbustis."——— Lib. X.

*[2] The proper term used of old for breaking the clods in vineyards was Pulveration, which by the husbandmen was called Occatio; for thus says Columella, speaking of the end of August: "His quidem diebus quibusdam locis, ut in Baeticâ, maritimis regionibus, ut in Africâ, vindemia conficitur. "Sed frigidioribus regionibus Pulverationem faciunt, quam "vocant rustici Occationem, cum omnis gleba in vineis refringitur, et resolvitur in pulverem." Lib. XI. c. ii.——How nicely curious was Virgil in his expressions!—Again, Columella: "Pubescentem et quasi adolescentem vitem convenit "foliis omnibus nudare, tum et crebris fossionibus implere; "nam fit uberior pulverationibus." Lib. IV. c. xxviii.

*[3] Even when the grapes are ripe, or near it, all danger is not yet over.——"In hoc temporis intervallo res summa "vitium agitur, decretorio uvis sidere illo quod Caniculam "appellavimus: Unde Carbunculare dicuntur, ut quodam "uredinis carbone exustae. Non comparantur huic malo "grandinis procellae," etc. Plin. lib. XVIII. c. xxviii.

Ver. 420—425.

" Contra, non *[1] ulla est oleis cultura: neque illae
" Procurvam expectant falcem, rastrosque tenaces;
" Cum semel haeserunt arvis, aurasque tulerunt.
" Ipsa satis tellus, cum *[2] dente recluditur unco,
" Sufficit humorem, et gravidas cum vomere fruges.
" Hoc pinguem et placitam *[3] Paci nutritor olivam."

*[1] So Columella: " Omnis arboris cultus simplicior quàm " vinearum est; longèque ex omnibus stirpibus minorem im-" pensam desiderat olea." Lib. V. c. viii.

*[2] Columella directs houghing and ploughing olive-yards: " Olivetum minimè bis anno arari debet: et bidentibus altè cir-" cumfodiri."——And though he orders " Oliveta stercorari, " et putari;" yet he prescribes very little dung; and as to the pruning, he says, " Compluribus annis interpositis olivetum " putandum est:" And again; " Satis erit octavo anno fecisse, " ne fructuarii rami subinde amputentur." Lib. v. c. ix. He had said before, in the 8th chapter, that all culture may be omitted without injuring the tree. And in confirmation of this, he tells us it was an old proverb, " Eum, qui aret olive-" tum, rogare fructum; qui stercoret, exorare; qui caedat, " cogere." Yet, after first planting, he tells us, they ought to be both watered and pruned; and therefore Virgil says,

" Cum semel haeserunt."———

*[3] Paci should be printed with a capital; " the Goddess of Peace."

Ver. 434, 435.

" Quid majora sequar? *[1] salices, humilesque genistae,
" Aut illae *[2] pecori frondem, aut pastoribus *[3] umbram
" Sufficiunt."———

*[1] And again, presently after:

" Viminibus salices foecundi."———

Virgil had told us before, ver. 83:

" Genus haud unum salici," etc.———

and ver. 269:

" Coeli regionem cortice signant."———

Columella says: " Hanc observationem non solùm in vitium " positione, sed in ulmorum caeterarumque arborum, præ-" cipio: uti, cum de seminario eximuntur, rubricâ notetur

"una pars; quae nos admoneat, ne aliter arbores constituamus, "quàm quemadmodum in seminario steterint. Plurimum "enim refert, ut eam partem caeli spectent, cui ab tenero "consueverunt." Lib. V. c. vi.

*[2] Virgil says, G. III. 175,

"Vescas salicum frondes."———

*[3] Q. whether this does not mean their Huts?

Ver. 440—443.

"Ipsae Caucaseo steriles in vertice sylvae,
"Quas animosi Euri assiduè franguntque feruntque,
"Dant alios aliae foetus; dant utile lignum
"Navigiis pinos, domibus cedrosque * cupressosque."

* It is true, that Vitruvius does not reckon the Cypress the best timber for building houses; for he says: "Nec abietis nec sapin- "orum omnibus locis copia est; sed inopiae abietis aut sapinorum "vitabuntur, utendo cypresso, populo, ulmo, pinu." Lib. II. c. ii.—But Mons. Perrault, in his edition of Vitruvius, remarks: "Que le Cyprés est sans comparaison meilleur que l'Abies et le "Sapin. Theophraste en parle comme du plus durable et du "moins sujet aux vers et à la pourriture; etant celui dont on "trouve les plus anciens edifices avoir eté batis."——N. B. Vitruvius himself asserts the same, lib. II. c. ix.

Ver. 446—448.

"Viminibus *[1] salices foecundae, frondibus *[2] ulmi:
"At myrtus validis *[3] hastilibus, et bona bello
"Cornus."———

*[1] Salices being twice mentioned within thirteen verses; Q. whether Virgil does not mean two different trees, both valuable on different accounts?

"Genus haud unum, nec fortibus ulmis,
"Nec salici."——— Ver. 83.

At the beginning of this book, Virgil names Siler and Salicta immediately after one another:

——— "Molle siler, lentaeque genistae,
"Populus, et glaucâ canentia fronde salictâ." Ver. 12.

*[2] See note on ver. 83 of this Georgic.———Varro advises planting elms as boundaries of lands: "Quòd frondem jucundis- "simam ministrat ovibus ac bubus." Lib. I. c. xv.———It is the practice still in Italy, to strip elms for fodder.

*[3] Virgil arms Camilla with a myrtle javelin. Aen. VII. ver. ult.

Ver. 455—457.

" Bacchus et ad culpam causas dedit: ille furentes
" Centauros leto domuit, Rhaetumque, Pholumque;
" Et magno * Hylaeum Lapithis cratere minantem."

* A good image of drunken folks quarrelling.—Q. if any old bas-reliefs representing the Centaurs in this attitude?—See what Pliny relates of the story of the Lapithae engraved by Phideas on Pallas's shield, lib. XXXVI. c. v. " Scuto ejus " (i. e. Minervae) Amazonum praelium Phideas caelavit, intu-" mescente ambitu parmae, ejusdem concavâ parte Deorum et " Gigantum dimicationem, in soleis verò Lapitharum et Cen-" taurorum; adeo momenta omnia compacta artis illius fuere." This being one of the most celebrated statues of the world, was undoubtedly very well known to the virtuosi of Rome.

Ver. 458—460.

" O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
" Agricolas! quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,
" Fundit humo facilem victum * justissima tellus."

* The Earth is called here, very properly, Justissima; not only because it restores with interest what is deposited, but by way of antithesis to the " discordibus armis" in the foregoing verse.

Ver. 461—470.

" Si non *[1] ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
" Mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam;
" Nec *[2] varios inhiant pulchrâ testudine postes,
" Illusasque auro vestes, Ephyreïaque aera;
" Alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,
" Nec casiâ liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi.
" At *[3] secura quies, et nescia fallere vita,
" Dives opum variarum; at latis otia fundis,
" Speluncae, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,
" Mugitusque boum, mollesque sub arbore somni
" Non absunt."———

*[1] " Ingentem Salutantum Undam totis Vomit aedibus." This expression is too bombast for Virgil's usual style; but is purposely affected here, as proper in a description of pomp and vanity.

*[2] Some of the Romans were so extravagant as to cover their doors and door-cases with Indian tortoise-shell; and, not contented with pure tortoise-shell, they had the shell inlaid or studded (as we see old cabinets) with precious stones; which

Virgil perhaps means by Varios.——Lucan, describing the palace where Cleopatra entertained Julius Caesar at Alexandria, says;

> " Suffecta manu foribus testudinis Indae
> " Terga sedent, crebro maculas distincta smaragdo."
>
> Lib. X. 120.

and observes, ten verses before, that this extravagance was not then got into Rome.

*[3] Observe the difference of style between the six foregoing verses and the following.—Observe likewise, with what variety of simple expressions he enumerates the innocent amusements and happiness of a country life.

Ver. 486—489.

> ——— " O ubi * campi,
> " Sperchiusque, et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis
> " Taygeta! O qui me † gelidis in vallibus Haemi
> " Sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!"

* Father Catrou has taken the liberty to change this word into Tempe; without any authority, and, I think, without reason: for supposing the Poet to mean the Tempe of Thessaly, is it not more elegant and poetical to express himself by Campi, i. e. Campi isti celebres, Campi, κατ' ἐξοχὴν, than to name Tempe itself? Besides, it is probable that, having mentioned the word Tempe but seventeen words before, he purposely avoids repeating it here; and as he there makes Tempe signify any fine fields in general, so here he makes Campi signify the fields of Tempe in particular.—And, that his meaning may not be undetermined, he adds the very next word the river Sperchius, which runs through those fields.

† The very best of the Roman poets copied so much after the Greek, that they sometimes give us ideas of things, that would be proper enough for a Greek, but sound quite improper from a Roman. Virgil's and Horace's instancing in Thessaly and Thrace (see Hor. lib. I. od. xxv. 20.) as such very cold countries, is a very strong proof of this.—Thrace was full north of Greece; and some of the Greeks therefore might talk of the coldness of that country, as strongly (perhaps) as some among us talk of the coldness of Scotland.

The Roman writers speak just in the same style, of the coldness of Thrace, though a considerable part of Italy lay in as northern a latitude, and some of it even farther north than Thrace.

Ver. 490—492.

> " † Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
> " Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
> " Subjecit * pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari!"

† Virgil had been saying, that his greatest delight was in the Muses; that he could wish to treat of Natural Philosophy in verse; but that if he had not a genius equal to so great an undertaking; he would however please himself with rural subjects. "Happy (says he) is the person, that has done the former with "so good an effect; and not unhappy are those, that are engaged, and can divert themselves at least, in the latter."

Lucretius was the only one of the Romans, who had written any philosophical poem, when Virgil said this:—all the points he mentions here are treated of in that poem:—the effects of it, spoken of by Virgil, are the very things which Lucretius aimed at:—and Virgil, in speaking of the author of it, uses the same words and expressions taken directly from this poem of Lucretius. All which (considered together with Virgil's general manner of rather hinting at things than speaking them quite out) make it clear to me, that it was Lucretius whom he means in this passage.

Our Archbishop Tillotson may be a little too severe on Virgil, where he singles out this passage as a very criminal one, vol. II. § lxiv.

I suppose, the chief point that gave offence in it, is his disbelief of Hell. And it is true that Virgil himself did not believe it. After describing hell, in the Aeneid, he makes his Hero and the Sibyl go out of the Ivory-gate, which he had just before called, The passage of vain dreams. The Poetic Hell was not a part of the old Roman creed; though a future state was believed by their best philosophers.

Balbus the Stoic, in Cicero De Naturâ Deorum, arguing for a God, says: "Quis Hippocentaurum fuisse, aut Chimaeram "putat? Quaeve anus tam excors inveniri potest, quae illa, "quae quondam credebantur apud Inferos, portenta extimes-"cat?" Lib. II. sub initio.

Caesar says roundly in the Senate-house: "De poenâ possum "equidem dicere id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis "mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam "cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra, neque curae, neque "gaudio, locum esse." Sallust. Bell. Cat. § li. And all that Cato answers to it is: "Bene et compositè C. Caesar paulo "ante in hoc ordine de vitâ et morte disseruit: credo, falsa "existimans ea quae de Inferis memorantur; diverso itinere "malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, foeda et formidolosa habere. "Itaque censuit," etc. Ironically.

Cicero says much the same as Caesar; in a public pleading too: "Nunc quidem quod tandem illi mali mors attulit? Nisi "forte ineptiis ac fabulis ducimur, ut existimemus illum apud "Inferos impiorum supplicia perferre, ac plures illic offendisse "inimicos quàm hic reliquisse; à socrûs, ab uxorum, à fratris, a

"liberûm poenis, actum esse praecipitem in sceleratorum sedem "atque regionem: quae si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, "quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit praeter sensum doloris?" Pro Cluentio, § lxi.

The same great philosopher is very plain and full against the poetical hell, in his Tusculan Questions, lib. I. sub initio; and in his Cato Major.

* This was an action of triumph, as may be seen in several statues and medals (see Medaglioni di Buonarroti, p. 176.); and from hence was used metaphorically, to signify any sorts of triumphing, or having superiority.

VER. 495—499.

"Illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum
"Flexit, et infidos agitans discordia *[1] fratres;
"Aut conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro:
"Non res Romanae, perituraque † regna: neque ille
"Aut *[2] doluit miserans inopem, aut invidit habenti."

*[1] Virgil was undoubtedly writing his Georgics at the very time that Phraates and Tiridates were disputing for the kingdom of Persia; and therefore probably hints at that.—Horace, who wrote at the same time, mentions this piece of history:

"Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten." Lib. II. Od. ii.

† When the Roman empire had any war, their authors say they had something to do against the Reges: so Regna here may signify the countries under the Reges, "the nations yet to "be conquered."

*[2] Ruaeus's construction may perhaps be agreeable to the sentiments of the rigid Stoics, but, I think, is too abstruse for this place. Virgil speaks of the philosopher above in those three verses,

"Felix qui potuit," etc.

And here he describes the happiness of the innocent farmer above the citizen; and may be understood in a much plainer sense: That he who lives retired in the country is free from seeing such sad spectacles, as they must be every day exposed to at Rome. "He sees no objects of pity, nor envies the pomp of the rich."

VER. 505—509.

"Hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque Penates,
"Ut *[1] gemmâ bibat, et Sarrano indormiat ostro:
"Condit opes alius, defossoque incubat auro;
"Hic stupet attonitus rostris: hunc *[2] plausus hiantem

"Per cuneos (*[3] geminatus enim) plebisque patrumque
"Corripuit."———

*[1] ———————— "Gemmaeque capaces
"Excepêre merum."——— Lucan. X. 160.

speaking of the feast given to Caesar in Aegypt.

The pride of the antients covered their tables or side-boards with cups of precious stone, as onyx, agate, etc. And probably the dishes and cups of agate, jasper, etc. which are now preserved in treasuries and cabinets, served formerly at the tables of princes and great men. "Appianus testatur Mithridatem "Ponti regem circiter duo millia poculorum ex onyche in suo "thesauro habuisse; verum non solum ex onyche, sed sardo-"nyche, et chalcedonio factitata fuisse certum est." Anselm. Boet. Hist. Gemm. lib. II. c. xcii.——"Achates tantâ mole "excrescit ut pocula et scyphi inde fieri possint." Id. lib. II. c. xcvi. Q. whether the vases at Genoa, and Venice, were not of this sort? And likewise the agate cup at the Barberini palace. See Misson's description of it, vol. II. lett. xxix.

The sapphire cup in the treasury of the church of St. John Baptist at Monza near Milan, is likewise supposed to be of this sort. It was left by Theudelinda Queen of the Lombards, who built and endowed the church. It is a tumbler or goblet, two inches three tenths deep, by three inches four tenths diameter.——In the treasury of St. Denis is a large cup of oriental agate, with a bas-relief representing a Sacrifice.—Pliny, in his Natural History, tells us, that Petronius, a little before his death, ordered a valuable cup of this sort to be broke, that it might not fall into the hands of Nero.—"T. Petronius con-"sularis moriturus invidiâ Neronis, ut mensam ejus exhaere-"daret, Truilam Murrhynam ccc. HS. emptam fregit." Lib. XXXVII. c. ii.

*[2] Horace mentions the applause given to Maecenas from a crowded theatre, as a mark of the greatest honour and respect that could be paid him by the people:

——— "Cùm populus frequens
"Laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum." Lib. II. Od. xvii.

"Cum tibi plausus,
"Care Maecenas eques," etc.———Lib. I. Od. xx.

*[3] Repetition of applause, a mark of the greatest favour; as is our Encore, Encore, in our theatres.—Horace, in one of his compliments to Augustus, says:

"Tuque dum procedis, Io Triumphe,
"Non semel dicemus, Io Triumphe,
"Civitas omnis."———Lib. IV. Od. ii.

Ver. 519.

"Venit * hiems; teritur Sicyonia bacca trapetis."

* Columella, having directed, in several chapters of his XIIth book, what was to be done by the Villica, or farmer's wife, during the Autumn, concludes thus: "Sequitur autem frigus "hiemis, per quod olivitas, sicut vindemia, curam villicae re- "petit." Cap. xlvii. And cap. l. he says: "Media est olivitas "plerumque initium mensis Decembris. Nam et ante hoc "tempus acerbum oleum conficitur, quod vocatur aestivum; et "circa hunc mensem viride premitur; deinde postea, maturum."

Ver. 532—535.

"Hanc olim *[1] veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
"Hanc Remus et frater: sic fortis Etruria crevit,
"Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma;
"Septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces."

*[1] "Antiquissima gens est Sabinorum, Indigenarum nimi- "rum." Strabo, lib. V.

It is not improbable that, in the compliment here paid, Virgil not only has respect to the nearest neighbours of Rome, the Sabini and Etrurians, but names the latter preferably to any other country in Italy, out of compliment to Maecenas, who was descended from the old race of the kings of that country; and therefore speaks of Tuscany and Rome almost as if they were both upon the same footing; here, and in the First Georgic, ver. 499.

* The only regions allied to Aeneas in his war against Turnus, is Tuscany, and the territory about Rome. The only place out of these is his favourite Mantua; which he brings in as an appenage of Tuscany. See Aen. III. 170. and X. 199.

GEORGIC THE THIRD.

Ver. 1, 2.

" Te quoque, magna *[1] Pales, et te memorande canemus
" *[2] Pastor ab Amphryso."———

*[1] This Goddess is represented by Ovid, in his account of the Palilia, as the supreme power presiding over pastoral affairs; and is therefore very justly called Magna.—See Ovid. Fast. lib. IV.

*[2] Pausanias speaks of a temple of Apollo, where he is represented, " Calceamenta pedibus gerens, et altero pede calvam " premens bovis: Bobus etenim potissimum gaudere Apollinem, " etc. Hujusmodi ob causam non ineptè quis conjiciat haec de " bovis calvâ ita esse facta." Lib. VII. Again, lib. IX. he mentions Apollo called Boidromius.

Ver. 8, 9.

——— " Tentanda via est, quâ me quoque possim
" Tollere humo, victorque virûm volitare per ora."

* Pliny hints at this passage, lib. V. Epist. viii. and says: " Me autem nihil aequè ac diuturnitatis amor et cupido solici- " tat: res homine dignissima, praesertim qui, nullius sibi " conscius culpae, posteritatis memoriam non reformidet."— And, lib. V. Epist. iii. offering some reasons for being an author, and publishing; and having named several great men, whose example he followed therein, and amongst others Julius Caesar, and other Emperors, concludes thus: " Neronem enim " transeo, quamvis sciam non corrumpi in deterius quae ali- " quando etiam à malis, sed honesta manere quae saepiùs à bonis " fiunt. Inter quos vel praecipuè numerandus est P. Virgilius."

Ver. 12.

" Primus * Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas."

* ——— " Arbusto palmarum dives Idume." Lucan. III. 216.

Ver. 16—18.

" In medio mihi Caesar erit, templumque tenebit.
" Illi *[1] victor ego, et Tyrio conspectus in ostro,
" Centum *[2] quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus."

*[1] Virgil had more modesty than to speak of himself, as Ruaeus here interprets him: this passage is designed as a compliment to Augustus, not to himself.—Victor rather refers to the triumphal

dress of the person who presided at the sports. Tacitus tells us (lib. I.) that in the Ludi Augustales, which were decreed by the Senate of Rome in honour of Augustus, as Virgil proposes to do at Mantua, it was ordered " ut per Circum triumphali " veste uterentur."

Virgil seems to have given here the first sketch for the Augustalia; and to have laid the plan for those honours which the Romans and others afterwards solemnized to Augustus.

*[2] Strabo, in his account of the Aegyptian temples, lib. XVII. tells us that there was usually a δρόμος or Cursus before the entrance of their temples, the extent of which δρόμος he describes.—The temple of Bacchus near Rome, according to the draught of it by Desgodetz, seem to have been built on the Aegyptian plan.

Ver. 19, 20.

" Cuncta mihi, Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi,
" Cursibus et crudo decernet * Graecia caestu."

* This proposal of Virgil's to celebrate games, etc. at Mantua, in honour of Augustus, after the Grecian manner, was an obliging compliment to the Neapolitans, with whom he lived when he wrote this.—They were descended from the Greeks, and, as Strabo expressly tells us, observed many of their customs, particularly in their games: " Plurima ibi (Neapoli) " Graecorum institutorum supersunt vestigia, ut Gymnasia, " Epheborum coetus, etc. Hoc tempore, Sacrum Quinquennale " certamen Musicum et Gymnicum per aliquot dies agitur, ludis " Graecorum nobilissimis aemulum." Lib. V.

Ver. 21—25.

" Ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus *[1] olivae
" Dona feram. Jam nunc solemnes ducere *[2] pompas
" Ad delubra juvat, caesosque videre juvencos:
" Vel *[3] scena ut versis discedat frontibus, utque
" Purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni."

*[1] Pliny, speaking of the olive, has this passage: " Oleae " honorem Romana Majestas magnum praebuit, turmas equitum " idibus Juliis ex eâ coronando: item minoribus triumphis " ovantes." Upon which Father Harduin has the following note: " Ovantium igitur corona et oleaginea fuit. Sed et " oleagineis coronis, inquit Festus, ministri triumphantium ute- " bantur, quod Minerva Dea belli esse putabatur. Quare Vir- " gilius, qui se triumphorum Augusti Caesaris ministrum deligi " et haberi studuit, ita cecinit." Lib. XV. § v. N. 5.

Capaccio, in his History of Naples, tells us of a Greek inscription in Museo Cardinalis Carpensis; of which he gives this translation: " Batonem Philonis filium, quoniam per annos duos

"praeses creatus ex animi sui et Aliptarum sententiâ justè ac "dignè Gymnasium administravit, eâque de causâ Collegium "universum per hosce duos annos ipsum oleaginâcoronâ, summâ "cum celebritate, coronavit," etc. Lib. I. c. xviii.

⁂[2] Dionysius Halicarnasseus, having related the old story of Castor and Pollux bringing the news to Rome of the victory obtained at the Lacus Regillus, observes, that there were several tokens still remaining in his time of the credit given by the Romans to that story, and particularly the pompous procession made through several streets of the city, by the Roman knights on horseback, on the feast-day of Castor and Pollux, viz. the ides of July, to their temple in the Forum, lib. VI. c. xiii.

This cavalcade, as we find by Suetonius, was re-established by Augustus, after it had been neglected for some time: "Equi-"tum turmas frequenter recognovit, post longam intercapedi-"nem reducto more transvectionis." Aug. 38.

Livy says, that this cavalcade was instituted by Q. Fabius Maximus: "Ab eodem institutum dicitur, ut equites idibus "Quintilibus transveherentur." Lib. IX. in fine.

This is confirmed by Valerius Maximus: "Trabeatos vero "equites idibus Juliis Q. Fabius transvehi instituit." Lib. II. c. ii.

As Augustus had great regard to, and loved these pompous cavalcades, Virgil alludes to them by saying,

——— "Solemnes ducere pompas
"Ad delubra juvat." ———

And as the horse is one of the principal subjects of this book, it was very proper to make a cavalcade one part of the show he would institute at Mantua in honour of Augustus.

⁂[3] The following inscription in one of the windows or openings which gave light to the Porta obscura at Trivoli, over which is supposed to have been the famous temple of Hercules, makes mention of the Scena CXL feet long:

C. LVTIVS. L. F. AVLIAN.
Q. PLAVSVRNIVS. C. F.
VARVS.
L. VENTIDIVS. L. F.
BASSVS.
C. OCTAV. C. F. GRACCHIN.
III VIR
PORTICVS P. CCLV.
ET. EXEDRAM. ET. PRONAON.
ET. PORTICVM. ET. SCAENAM.
LONG. P. CXL.
S. C. F. C.

Vitruvius thus describes the Roman scenes: " Ipsae scenae " suas habeant rationes explicatas, ita uti mediae valvae ornatus " habeant aulae regiae, dextra ac sinistra hospitalia. Secundum " autem ea, spatia ad ornatus comparata; (quae loca Graeci " περιάκτους dicunt, ab eo quod machinae sint in iis locis versa- " tiles trigonos habentes). In singula tres sint species ornatio- " nis, quae, cùm aut fabularum mutationes sunt futurae, seu " Deorum adventus cum tonitribus repentinis, versentur, mu- " tentque speciem ornationis in frontes." Lib. V. c. vii.

† " In Panegyri sacra sunt loca, et sacrificia, et stadia ad " currendum, Et *Scena* alicubi. τεμένη γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἱερὰ, καὶ " δρομοὶ, καὶ σκηνὴ δήπου." Philostratus de vitâ Apol. lib. VIII. c. xviii.

Ver. 26—29.

† " In *[1] foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
" *[2] Gangaridum faciam, victorisque arma *[3] Quirini:
" Atque hic undantem bello, magnumque fluentem
" Nilum, ac navali surgentes aere columnas."

† Virgil's imaginary temple here seems to have been copied from that built by Augustus, to Mars Ultor; and they agree in so many particulars, that I cannot help thinking the one was a copy of the other. Ovid thus describes the temple of Mars Ultor:

" Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores;
    " Templaque in Augusto conspicienda Foro.
" Digna Gigantaeis haec sunt delubra tropaeis;
    " Hinc fera Gradivum bella movere decet.
" Prospicit in foribus diversae tela figurae;
    " Armaque terrarum, milite victa suo.
" Hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere sacro;
    " Et tot Iüleae nobilitatis avos:
" Hinc videt Iliaden humeris ducis arma ferentem."
Fast. V. 565.

By comparing this with Virgil's, one sees, that on the gates of each are the conquered nations, and their arms;—in each, the Trojan ancestors of the Julian family; in each, Romulus carrying the Spolia opima.—The trophies, mentioned for both, I imagine, might stand on each side of the front, at top: with Mars standing between them, on the highest elevation, in the one; as Augustus may be supposed to do, in the other.

" Prospicit Armipotens operis fastigia summi;
    " Et probat invictos summa tenere Deos."
Fast. V. 560

" In medio mihi Caesar erit; templumque tenebit."
Georg. III. 16.

*[1] The word Fores was used not only for the door, but likewise for the exterior part of the temple; as appears from Virgil, in his description of the temple of Juno built by Dido:

" Tum foribus Divae, mediâ testudine templi,
" Septa armis solioque alte subnixa, resedit."
Aen. III. 509.

Where he makes Fores to signify all the temple, except the cell or inner part; for he cannot mean that Dido sat at the door of the temple, because he expressly declares that it was " mediâ " testudine templi."—The same may be gathered from Virgil's description of the temple of Apollo at Cumae, lib. VI. and likewise from Tacitus, who seems to use the word in distinction to the cell of the temple of Vesta.

*[2] Those that border on the Ganges, or strictly the Indians beyond the Ganges, as we learn from Q. Curtius; who, telling us that Alexander being got as far as the river Hypasis in India, and inquiring of Phegelas the prince of that part, what countries lay beyond him, was thus informed by him: " Undecim " dierum ultra flumen (Hypasim) per vastas solitudines iter " esse; excipere deinde Gangem, maximum totius Indiae flu- " minum: ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Phar- " rasios." Lib. IX. § v.

By Gangaridae, Virgil means the Eastern people in general.

*[3] Suetonius says thus: " Censentibus quibusdam Romulum " appellari oportere, quasi et ipsum conditorem urbis." And Dion—Ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰσχυρῶς Ρωμύλος ὀνομασθῆναι.——See more in Johannes Philadelphensis (scripto de mensibus in Aug.) Ὀκταβιανὸς, etc. The pleasure which Augustus took in this title was undoubtedly the reason of Virgil's making that artful compliment to him in the sixth Aeneid, where Anchises, shewing his son the glories of his posterity, breaks loose from the true order of succession, and places Augustus immediately after Romulus: which irregularity, though censured by some of the critics, is, I think, one of the finest strokes of that glorious passage. See Dr. Trapp's note on that place, Book VI. ver. 973. of his translation.

Ver. 30—33.

" Addam urbes *[1] Asiae domitas, pulsumque Niphaten,
" Fidentemque fugâ Parthum versisque sagittis:
" Et *[2] duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste trophaea,
" *[3] Bisque triumphatas *[4] utroque ab litore gentes."

*[1] Compare this with Aeneid VI. 794. and VII. 605.——

Augustus's conquests in the East was a favourite topick of the Poets in his time. Vid. Hor. lib. I. Od. vi. ver. 12. et lib. IV. Od. xiv. et xv.

*[2] Quaer. Whether Virgil does not mean Augustus's victory over Brutus and Cassius, and his recovery of the Roman Eagles from the Parthi, for in both actions he might very properly be said, " Rapuisse manu trophaea."——And we are assured that on the former account Augustus built a temple to Mars Ultor, and on the latter account he dedicated one to him under the title of Bisultor.——Suetonius says, " Publica opera plurima " extruxit: ex quibus praecipua, forum cum aede Martis " Ultoris," etc. And presently after, " Aedem Marti Bello " Philippensi pro ultione paternâ suscepto voverat."——And, more expressly, Ovid:

" Templa feres, et me victore vocaberis Ultor:
  " Voverat, et fuso laetus ab hoste redit.
" Nec satis est meruisse sui cognomina Martis;
  " Persequitur Parthâ signa retenta manu.
" Parthe, refers Aquilas, victos quoque porrigis arcus;
  " Pignora jam nostri nulla pudoris habes.
" Rite Deo, templumque datum, nomenque Bisultor;
  " Emeritus voti debita solvit honor." Fast. lib. V.

Or do the " Duo Trophaea" mean only the trophies recovered, which were taken from Crassus and Labienus by the two Parthian Kings, Moneses and Pacorus? which were esteemed two of the greatest disgraces which had befallen Rome. See Hor. lib. III. Od. vi.

Mr. Holdsworth has the following guess on the same passage in another place.——One of the cases here referred to is undoubtedly Augustus's recovering from the Parthians the standards they had taken from Crassus. Quaer. If the other does not refer to his recovering from the Dalmatians the standards they had taken from Gabinius:—for thus the Latin translator of Appian, De Bellis Illyricis, having related Augustus's taking Sergeste (now Trieste) and his other conquests over the Illyrians, adds; " Caesar copias in Dalmatas convertit gentem Illyriorum. " Dalmatae quidem, ex quo sub Gabinio quinque cohortes in- " terimentes signa ademerant, ob res prospere gestas animis " elati, per decem annos neutiquam deposuere arma, et advenienti " (Aug.) Caesari unà cum Sergestanis occurrere statuerant." ——Then having given account of the success against them, he tells us that Augustus going to Rome to receive the Consulship, and returning again to Dalmatia, " Dalmatae fame fatigati " commeatu undique excluso, venienti Caesari sponte obviant, " seque illi suppliciter dedunt, obsides numero septingentos ex

"propriis filiis exhibent. Hos Caesar Romanorum signa "Gabinio adempta ferre monuit: tributa quoque quae sub "Caio Caesare olim polliciti in id tempus distulissent persolvere "imperavit. Ita Romanis obsequentiores deinceps effecti sunt. "Ea signa Caesar in porticu, quae Octavia dicitur, appendit." ——Then having told us of other people of the Illyrians conquered by Caesar, he concludes "Ob eam rem triumphus "Illyrius à senatu Caesari decretus est, quem post devictum "tandem egit Antonium."——The story of Gabinius is related by Appian, lib. II. De Bellis Civil. sect. ccccIxiv.——Appian hints at Augustus's wars against the Illyrians, lib. V. Bell. Civ. p. 1175. edit. Toll. and, again, page ult.

One of the people meant here were certainly the Cantabri. Horace, in praising Augustus, generally, if not always, mentions his conquering the Cantabri. See lib. I. Od. vi. 3. 8. iv. 14.

Horace likewise frequently mentions Augustus's recovering from the Parthians the Roman ensigns taken from Crassus, and his wiping out that blot upon the Roman name. See lib. IV. Od. xv.

This was so much the more honourable to Augustus, becau s his rival Antony, though he entered Parthia with a vast army on purpose to revenge the death of Crassus, and offered to withdraw his forces on condition that the Parthians would surrender the Roman eagles, could not obtain them, and being refused was forced to retire with disgrace, and considerable loss. See Plutarch's life of Antony.

*³ The completing of the conquest of Spain was ascribed to Augustus, as is expressly declared by Livy; who has this remarkable passage; "Hispania non quam Italia modo, sed quam "ulla pars terrarum bello reparando aptior erat locorum homi- "numque ingeniis. Itaque ergo prima Romanis inita pro- "vinciarum quae quidem continentis sint; postremo omnium "nostra demum aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris "perdomita est." Dec. III. lib. viii.

The reduction of Aegypt is likewise claimed by Augustus, as we find it inscribed on the pedestal of the obelisk at the Porta del Popolo at Rome, which was erected in the eleventh consulate of Augustus, i. e. Anno U. C. 731.

*⁴ Probably this means no more than the opposite shores of the Mediterranean sea. Horace makes the like compliment to Rome:

"Horrenda latè nomen in ultimas
"Extendat oras, quà medius liquor
"Secernit Europen ab Afro,
"Quà tumidus rigat arva Nilus." Lib. III. od. iii.

Ver. 34—36.

" * Stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa ;
" Assaraci proles, demissaeque ab Jove gentis
" Nomina : Trosque parens, et Trojae Cynthius auctor."

* This suited the taste of Augustus, who adorned his public buildings with statues. Suetonius tells us, " Proximum à Diis " immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui impe- " rium Populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidissent.—— " Itaque et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utrâque fori " sui porticu dedicavit. Professus est edicto commentum id se, " ut illorum velut ad exemplar, et ipse dum viveret, et inse- " quentium aetatum principes exigerentur à civibus." In Aug.

Ver. 37—39.

" Invidia infelix Furias, amnemque severum
" Cocyti metuet ; tortosque Ixionis † orbes,
" Immanemque rotam ; et non exsuperabile saxum."

† All the editions of Virgil at present (and indeed several of the manuscripts, and even some of the oldest) read Angues here, instead of Orbes.

The reason why I suppose some critics of late, who have thought it was originally Orbes, are in the right, is, because the latter agrees with Ixion's punishment, and the former does not. The punishment of Ixion consisted in being attached to a wheel, and whirled round impetuously by it ; both which are expressed in the " Tortos orbes, immanemque rotam," of Virgil. ——Orbis is the very word which Virgil uses, in the only place beside this where he speaks of Ixion's punishment, in his allowed works : and, if the Aetna be his, it is also used there of the same.

I do not remember that Virgil, or any other of the Roman Poets, ever speak of Ixion's being tormented with snakes ; or indeed of snakes being made use of in the torments of Tartarus at all. The snakes of the Furies, or infernal tormentors of the old Poets, represented the stings of conscience ; the tortures and sufferings of the mind, not those of the body : but the modern painters have made so much use of serpents, in their representations of persons tormented in the other world, that has made a connexion between the tormented and snakes now, which was not of old : and may have been a chief reason, that the reading of Angues has prevailed so generally among us.

I must just observe one thing more ; which is, the propriety of Virgil in the above passage, in another respect. The persons he is speaking of are the enemies of the Julian family ; or of the faction (as he calls it) against the Caesars. These, he says,

should be represented on the temple he would build to Augustus, as in the tortures of Tartarus; and, more particularly, as punished in the same manner as Ixion and Sisyphus. Ixion was punished there, for his ingratitude and impiety; Sisyphus, as a villain and a robber. So that this is calling all the party against Augustus villains and ingrates; and infers the highest compliment to that prince, at the same time that it is the most cruel of invectives against his enemies.

VER. 43, 44.

——— " En age, segnes
" Rumpe moras: vocat ingenti clamore * Cithaeron,
" Täygetique canes, domitrixque Epidaurus equorum."

* The boundary between Attica and Boeotia. Sir G. Wheler says, that he lodged on mount Parnes, not far from Cithaeron, or part of the same ridge; that there was a curious fountain hard by, where, he says, the wolves, bears, and wild boars come to drink; this mountain being a great covert for them: and that they were forced to stop up the entrance into their car, to secure them from the assaults of wild beasts, page 334.

VER. 51—59.

——— " *[1] Optima torvae
" Forma bovis, cui turpe caput, cui plurima cervix,
" Et crurum tenus à mento palearia pendent.
" Tum longo nullus lateri modus: omnia magna;
" Pes *[2] etiam: et camuris hirtae sub *[3] cornibus aures.
" Nec mihi displiceat maculis insignis et albo:
" Aut juga detrectans, interdumque aspera cornu,
" Et faciem tauro propior: quaeque ardua tota,
" Et gradiens imâ verrit vestigia caudâ."

*[1] Varro's description of the shape and colour of a good cow: " Ut sint oblongae, amplae, latis frontibus, oculis magnis, " pilosis auribus; cervicibus crassis ac longis, à collo paleari- " bus demissis; corpore amplo, bene costato;—caudam pro- " fusam usque ad calces ut habeant." Lib. II. c. v.——As to the colour, it is difficult to understand him; his words are: " Colore potissimum nigro, dein rubeo," etc. If I understand him, he makes black and white mixed the worst colour.—— Columella prefers " colorum rubeum, vel fuscum," lib. VI. c. i. and gives the following description of a cow, c. xxi. " Vaccae " probantur altissimae formae, longaeque, frontibus latissi- " mis, pilosis auribus, palearibus et caudis amplissimis; caetera " quoque fere eadem in feminis, quae et in maribus desideran- " tur:" the description of which he had given before; " Pa-

"randi sunt boves, grandibus membris, fronte latâ et crispâ, "hirtis auribus, cervice longâ et torosâ, palearibus amplis, et "penè ad genua promissis, lateribus porrectis, ungulis magnis, "caudis longissimis." Cap. i.

*[2] Etiam is to be pronounced with an emphasis, as an extraordinary case; because in other creatures, generally, a large foot is far from being a beauty.

*[3] "Potius bovem emunt cornibus nigrantibus, quàm albis." Var. lib. II. c. i.

Ver. 60, 61.

"* Aetas Lucinam justosque pati hymenaeos
"Desinit ante decem, post quatuor incipit annos."

* Varro says, "In bubulo pecore minoris emitis anniculam," that is, one of a year old, "et supra decem annorum; quod à "bimâ aut trimâ fructum ferre incipit, neque longius post de-"cimum annum procedit. Nam prima aetas omnis pecoris, et "extrema, sterilis." Lib. II. c. i.——Again, he says, "Non "minores oportet inire bimas, ut trimae pariant; eò melius, si "quadrimae." Lib. II. c. v.

"In nostro orbe, Epiroticis bubus maxima laus; à Pyrrhi, ut "ferunt, jam inde regis curâ: id consequutus est non ante qua-"drimatum ad partus vocando: praegrandes itaque fuere, et "hodieque reliquiae stirpium durant." Plin. lib. VIII. c. xlv.

Ver. 75—79.

"Continuò pecoris *[1] generosi pullus in arvis
"*[2] Altius ingreditur, et mollia crura reponit:
"Primus et ire viam, et fluvios tentare minaces
"Audet, et ignoto sese committere ponti:
"Nec vanos horret strepitus."———

*[1] Virgil's description of a beautiful horse was admired by the antients, as appears by Pliny. "Equorum forma, quales "maximè legi oporteat, pulcherrimè quidem Virgilio vate ab-"soluta est." Lib. VIII. c. xlii.

Varro's description is as follows: "Equi boni futuri signa "sunt, si cum gregalibus in pabulo contendit, in currendo, "aliâve quâ re, quo potior sit; si cum flumen travehendum "est, gregi in primis praegreditur, ac non respectat alios:" and before, "Qualis futurus sit equus è pullo conjectari "potest, si *caput habet non magnum*, si est *naribus non an-"gustis, auribus applicatis, non angustâ jubâ crebrâ*, subtenui-"bus setis implicatâ in dexteriorem partem cervicis, pectus "latum et plenum, ventre modico, spinâ maximè duplici, un-"gulis duris." Lib. II. c. vii.

*[2] I take "altius ingredi" to signify, to step boldly and

genteelly, or with grace; by lifting the feet high, and then setting them down again gently.

VER. 80—88.

——— "Illi ardua cervix,
"*[1] Argutumque caput, brevis alvus, *[2] obesaque terga;
"*[3] Luxuriatque toris animosum *[4] pectus: honesti
"*[5] Spadices, glaucique; color deterrimus albis,
"Et gilvo: tum, si qua sonum procul arma dedere;
"† Stare loco nescit, micat *[6] auribus, et tremit artus,
"Collectumque premens volvit sub naribus ignem.
"Densa juba, et dextro jactata recumbit in armo.
"At *[7] duplex agitur per lumbos spina: cavatque
"Tellurem, et solido graviter sonat ungula cornu."

*[1] What Palladius calls "exiguum caput et siccum," a sharp, brisk-looking head, Virgil expresses in one word, Argutum.

"La tête du cheval doit âtre menuë, etroite, decharnée, et "seche. C'est une partie essentielle de la beauté du cheval, "sans laquelle il ne peut être agréable quoiqu'il eut tout le "reste du corps bien fait." Solleysel, c. ii.

*[2] "La croupe doit être large et ronde," etc. ibid. pag. 16. "——De la derniere côté jusqu'à l'os de la hanche, qui est "proprement le flanc, il y doit avoir fort peu de distance." Ibid.

*[3] "Luxuriatque toris" may be said of a clumsy, heavy horse; and therefore the Poet has very well qualified the expression, by adding Animosum—that a horse must be full-chested, and have those muscles strong and vigorous, not overloaded.

*[4] "La poitrine large et ouverte aux chevaux de legere taille "est toujours estimée." Sol. c. ii. p. 14.

*[5] As Spadix signifies a reddish colour, this word ought, according to strictness, to mean what the French call *Baie rouge* —but, in general, I take Spadices to comprehend the several sorts of Bays; and Glauci, different sorts of Grey.——Glaucus certainly signifies Grey, as well as Blue: and in the Welsh language the word *Glauce*, when applied to *Kephal*, or a horse, signifies a dark Grey; but when applied to other things, it signifies Blue.——See Revelat. c. vi. 8. ἵππος χλωρὸς, which our translators render *a pale horse*.—— "Glaucas salices." Georg. IV. 187.

† There is a very good imitation of this part of Virgil, in a Roman Poet of the third century, which may deserve to be inserted here:

"Illis ampla satis laevi sunt aequora dorso,
"Immodicumque latus: parvaeque ingentibus alvi;

" Ardua frons, auresque agiles; capitique decoro
" Altus honos; oculique vago splendore micantes.
" Plurima se validos cervix resupinat in armos;
" Fumant humentes *calidâ de nare vapores.*
" *Nec pes officium standi tenet;* ungula terram
" Crebra ferit; virtusque artus animosa fatigat.
" Quin etiam gens ampla jacet trans ardua Calpes
" Culmina, cornipedum latè foecunda proborum.
" Namque valent longos pratis intendere cursus;
" Nec minor est illis Graio quàm in corpore forma:
" Nec non terribiles *spirabile lumen anheli*
" *Provolvunt flatus; et lumina vivida torquent.*"
Nemesianus, Cynegetic. 256.

*[6] " Pline a fait une assez bonne remarque sur les oreilles d'un " cheval; car il dit que par le mouvement de ses oreilles on " peut juger de son intention et de son courage," etc. Soll. c. ii.

*[7] " Un cheval doit avoir les reins doubles, qui est lorsqu'il " les a un peu plus elevés aux deux cotés qu'au milieu du dos, " et passant la main tout au long de l'épine on la trouve large, " bien fournie, et double par le canal qui s'y fait." Id. c. ii. p. 15.

Solleysel remarks, " Si les épaules sont grosses, chargées de " chair et rondes, ce sera un defaut considérable;" but he adds immediately afterwards, " C'est un defaut aux chevaux Fran- " çois, car, pour les Barbes et chevaux d'Espagne, ils n'en " sont pas pires, si d'ailleurs ils ont les qualités qu'on leur de- " mande. Même j'ai vu peu de Barbes et de chevaux " d'Espagne avoir beaucoup d'épaules qu'ils ne fussent tres " bons." Cap. iv. p. 49. The same might be said of the Neapolitan horses, which Virgil probably had in view in this description.

VER. 95—102.

" Hunc quoque, ubi aut morbo gravis, aut jam segnior annis
" Deficit, abde domo, *[1] nec turpi ignosce senectae.
" Frigidus in Venerem senior, frustraque laborem
" Ingratum trahit: et, si quando ad praelia ventum est,
" Ut quondam in stipulis magnus sine viribus ignis,
" Incassùm furit. Ergo animos *[2] aevumque notabis
" Praecipuè: hinc alias artes, *[3] prolemque parentum:
" Et quis cuique dolor victo, quae gloria palmae."

*[1] If Virgil had meant as Ruaeus supposes, in his note upon this place, he might as easily have said, " et non turpi:" But I think he is to be understood in the literal sense, " nec ignosce " turpi senectae. Ne sis indulgentior senectuti turpi, quae " turpem prolem reddet;" Do not make any allowances to an

old stallion for what he has been. This sense suits best with what follows:

"Frigidus in Venerum senior."———

*[2] "Equorum et Equarum greges qui habere voluerunt, ut "habent aliqui in Peloponneso et in Apuliâ, primùm spectare "oportet aetatem quam praecipiunt: Videndum ne sint mi-"nores trimae, majores decem annorum." Var. lib. ii. c. vii.

*[3] Dr. Martyn, in opposition, as he owns, to the generality of the commentators, thinks the Poet means by "prolem pa-"rentum," that we are to observe what colts the horse produces: but I cannot believe this is his meaning; for he gives direction for choosing a young stallion. I rather think he means that we are to inquire into the pedigree, and how the offspring of that race have proved.

VER. 103—107.

"Nonne vides? cum praecipiti certamine campum
"Corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus;
"Cum spes arrectae juvenum, exultantiaque haurit
"Corda pavor pulsans: illi instant verbere torto,
"Et * proni dant lora."———

"* Non tam praecipites bijugo certamine campum
"Corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus.
"Nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
"Concussere jugis, pronique in verbera pendent."
Aen. V. 147.

VER. 113—117.

"*[1] Primus Erichthonius currus et quatuor ausus
"Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.
"Fraena Pelethronii Lapithae, *[2] gyrosque dedere,
"Impositi dorso: atque equitem † docuere sub armis
"Insultare solo, et gressus *[3] glomerare superbos."

*[1] That they had ménages for their war horses, either for the chariot or saddle, appears from this, and some of the following passages; and likewise from Varro. "Equi quod alii "sunt ad rem militarem idonei, alii ad vecturam, alii ad ad-"missuram, alii ad cursuram, non item sunt spectandi atque "habendi. Itaque peritus belli alios eligit, atque alit, ac "*docet;* aliter quadrigarius, ac desultor. Neque idem qui "vectarios facere vult, ad ephippium, aut ad praedam; quod "ut ad rem militarem, quod ibi ad castra habere volunt acres; "sic contra in viis habere malunt placidos."——For the former sort Virgil requires,

"Calidum animis, et cursibus acrem." Ver. 119.

And again:

——— "Qui spumas agit ore cruentas." Ver. 203.

For the latter sort,

——— "Qui molli feret esseda collo." Ver. 204.

The art of managing horses, so as to leap at full speed from one to another, is mentioned by Homer, Il. XV.——See Mr. Pope's notes on ver. 824.

It being objected by critics, that the custom of riding was not known in Greece at the time of the Trojan war; Eustathius answers, that, had Homer put the comparison in the mouth of one of his heroes, the objection had been just, and he guilty of an inconsistency; but it is he himself who speaks: Saddle-horses were in use in his age, and any poet may be allowed to illustrate pieces of antiquity by images familiar to his own times.

*[2] "Equi non formâ, non velocitate conspicui: Sed nec "variare gyros in morem nostrum docentur." Tacitus, De mor. Germ. c. vi.

† "Nam flecti facilis lascivaque colla secutus
"Paret in obsequium lentae moderamine virgae:
"Verbera sunt praecepta fugae; sunt verbera fraeni."
Nemesianus, Cyneg. 268.

*[3] Pliny, speaking of the horses of Gallicia and Asturia, says: "Non vulgaris in cursu gradus, sed mollis alterno cru-"rum explicatu glomeratio: unde equis tolutim capere in "cursus traditur arte." Lib. viii. c. xlii.

Ver. 118—122.

"* Aequus uterque labor: aeque juvenemque magistri
"Exquirunt, calidumque animis, et cursibus acrem:
"Quamvis saepe fugâ versos ille egerit hostes,
"Et patriam Epirum referat, fortesque Mycenas;
"Neptunique ipsâ deducat origine gentem."

* I take it that the Poet has in these verses a view to the language of the horse-coursers; and means that whoever would purchase a fine horse must be sure that he is "juvenis, "calidus animis, et cursibus acer:" and not depend entirely upon the boasts of the horse-courser,

"Quamvis saepe fugâ," etc.———

† See note on the place in Mr. Warton's Virgil, where it is proposed to place these three lines, "Quamvis," etc. immediately after

——— "Nec turpi ignosce senectae." Ver. 96.

Mr. Heath proposes the same conjecture, upon the same reasons.

VER. 124—129.

——— "Omnes
"Impendunt curas denso distendere * pingui,
"Quem legere ducem, et pecori dixere maritum:
"Pubentesque secant herbas, fluviosque ministrant,
"Farraque; ne blando nequeat superessè labori,
"Invalidique patrum referant jejunia nati:
"Ipsa autem macie tenuant armenta volentes."

* "Ante admissuram diebus triginta arietibus ac tauris plus "cibi datur, ut vires habeant: feminis bubus demitur, quod "macescentes melius concipere dicuntur." Varr. lib. II. c. i. This he repeats, lib. II. c. v.

VER. 130—134.

"Atqui *[1] ubi concubitus primos jam nota voluptas
"Solicitat; frondesque negant, et fontibus arcent:
"Saepe etiam cursu quatiunt, et sole fatigant;
"Cum *[2] graviter tunsis gemit area frugibus, et cum
"Surgentem ad Zephyrum paleae jactantur inanes."

*[1] "Ubi voluptas solicitat primos concubitus" certainly means, when the cow or mare discovers an inclination to go to horse or bull. This desire of enjoyment the Poet represents so strong in them, that he intimates as if by instinct they already know the pleasure before enjoyment: which I take to be the meaning of "jam nota voluptas," and put by way of antithesis to "primos concubitus."

*[2] So Varro: "Initium admissionis facere oportet ab aequi"noctio verno ad solstitium, ut partus idoneo tempore fiat. "Duodecimo enim mense, die decimo, aiunt nasci." Lib. II. c. vii. Virgil hints that the most proper time is just after harvest.

VER. 135, 136.

"Hoc faciunt, nimio ne luxu obtusior usus
"Sit genitali * arvo, et sulcos oblimet inertes."

* As Virgil, Georg. II. 324. speaking of the earth, enlivens his discourse by metaphors taken from copulation; so here he modestly veils his thoughts by expressions proper to tillage.

Ver. 146—151.

" Est lucos Silari circa, ilicibusque virentem
" Plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen *[1] Asilo
" Romanum est; *[2] Oestron Graii vertere vocantes:
" Asper, acerba sonans: quo tota exterrita sylvis
" Diffugiunt armenta; furit mugitibus aether
" Concussus, sylvaeque, et *[3] sicci ripa Tanagri."

*[1] Asilus, otherwise called Tabanus; vid. Plin. lib. II. c. xxviii. now called in Italy Tavano.

" Quod vaccas aestate tabani concitare solent, et bestiolae " quaedam minutae sub caudâ, ne concitentur, aliqui solent includere septis." Var. lib. II. c. v.

*[2] " Amplioris magnitudinis foetus quam sint caeterarum " apum, nonnulli putant esse Reges; verum quidam Graecorum " auctores "Οιςρȣς appellant, ab eo quod exagitent, neque pa- " tiantur examina conquiescere." Col. lib. IX. c. xiv.

*[3] Cluverius says, " Uterque fluvius Tanager et Calor " perennes habent fontes, et nullo anni tempore exsiccantur:" if so, the interpretation given by Ruaeus is wrong. Q. whether Sicci may not relate to the dry country round about this river, rather than to the bed of it? Eutropius Paulinus, in natali Sancti Felicis, says:

——— " Qui sicca Tanagri,
" Quique colunt rigui felicia culta Galesi:"

Where he makes an opposition between the " sicca Tanagri" and the " felicia culta Galesi."

Ver. 166—169.

" Ac primum laxos tenui de vimine circlos
" Cervici subnecte: dehinc, ubi libera colla
" Servitio assuerint; ipsis è torquibus aptos
" Junge *[1] pares, et coge *[2] gradum conferre juvencos."

*[1] Varro, speaking of this subject, says: " Sint pares, ne in " opere firmior imbecilliorem conficiat." Lib. I. c. xx. And, in the same chapter, he adds: " Novellos si quis emerit juvencos, " si eorum colla in furcas destitutas incluserit, ac dederit cibum; " diebus paucis erunt mansueti, et ad domandum proni." This Virgil likewise directs, in the passage above:

——— " Laxos tenui de vimine circlos
" Cervici subnecte."———

*[2] " In bubulo genere aetatis gradus dicuntur quatuor; in " primâ Vitulus, in secundâ Juvencus, in tertiâ et quartâ Taurus " et Vacca." Var. lib. II. c. v.

VER. 173, 174.

"Post valido nitens sub pondere faginus axis
"*[1] Instrepat, et junctos temo trahat *[2] aereus orbes."

*[1] Varro gives instructions that, "Si possis, per vicum aut "oppidum creber strepitus ac varietas rerum consuetudine "celerrima ad utilitatem adducit." Lib. I. c. xx.—This is better expressed by Virgil in one word, Instrepat; for every farmer is not situated near a town, and therefore Varro adds, "si possis." Virgil's rule is more general. Another poet would have contented himself to have employed a phrase which should denote a very great weight, but Virgil uses Instrepat: this word is used more properly, for it not only expresses the greatness of the load, which occasions the skreaking of a waggon, but gives one a lively idea of such a carriage; and intimates that the beasts must be accustomed to the noise, that they may not be frightened.

*[2] It is very common at this time, in several parts of Italy, to cover the end of the waggon-pole with plates of brass.

VER. 190—192.

"At, tribus exactis, ubi *[1] quarta accesserit aestas;
"Carpere mox *[2] gyrum incipiat, gradibusque sonare
"Compositis: sinuetque alterna volumina crurum."

*[1] "Sunt qui dicunt, post annum et sex menses equulum "domari posse; sed melius post trimum, à quo tempore farrago "dari solet." Var. lib. II. c. vii.—He proceeds afterwards to prescribe the method of giving it.—And, lib. I. c. xxxi. he says: "Farragine equi et jumenta caetera verno tempore purgantur "et saginantur."

*[2] ——— "Certum flectit in orbem
"Quadrupedis cursus."——— Ovid. Met. lib. VI. ver. 225.

VER. 196—201.

"Qualis *[1] hyperboreis *[2] Aquilo cum densus ab oris
"Incubuit, Scythiaeque hiemes atque arida differt
"Nubila: tum segetes altae campique natantes
"Lenibus horrescunt flabris, summaeque sonorem
"Dant sylvae, longique urgent ad litora fluctus:
"Ille volat, simul arva fugâ, simul aequora verrens."

*[1] This word, which is of Greek extraction, is used as the superlative of Boreas: so that "Hyperboreis ab oris" signifies, from the most northern parts of the world. This is plain from Strabo, lib. I. where, after having ridiculed what Herodotus says of this word, he tells us expressly: "Hyperborei ii di-

"cuntur, qui maximè sunt omnium Septentrionales. Porro "Septentrionalium terminus est Polus." Ὑπερβορέους τοὺς Βορειόλάτους λέγεσθαι. Ὅρος δὲ τῶν βορείων ὁ πόλος.

*[2] "Densus Aquilo," a brisk and regular northern gale. Aquilo is the principal wind which disperses the clouds and clears the air: and therefore when the gods had determined to drown the world, Ovid ingeniously supposes that Jupiter ordered the dry winds, particularly this, to be imprisoned:

"Protinus Aeoliis Aquilonem claudit in antris,
"Et quaecunque fugant inductas flamina nubes;
"Emittitque Notum."——— Ovid. Met. lib. I. 262.

This wind was reckoned the most regular; and therefore, when Horace would describe the middle state between good and bad fortune, and endeavouring by an allegory to represent, that he neither was puffed up by a continual course of prosperity, nor oppressed by adversity; he expresses the former state by the metaphor of a regular north wind; and the latter by its opposite, the south:

"Non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo,
"Non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus Austris."
Lib. II. Epist. ii. ver. 201.

The commentators are very much puzzled in explaining this passage; for taking Densus to signify Vehemens, and Lenibus, Modicis, they find it difficult to reconcile one with the other. Father Catrou has attempted a new discovery, and supposes the former part of this comparison to be a description of a storm, and the latter of a gentle wind after the storm: but I fear this interpretation will neither bear application; for Virgil is not speaking of the gentle motion of a horse, but his swiftness; nor will it suit with the common rules of construction; for "ille volat" must certainly be referred to "densus Aquilo," and consequently all the verses between must relate to the same; unless the Father would make the storm cease in order to explain the 3d, 4th, and 5th verses, and then raise it again to explain the 6th.—The whole difficulty will be removed by rendering "lenibus flabris," a smooth steady gale, or wind; and "densus Aquilo," as before.—Observe the scope of Virgil's meaning. He is describing the smooth easy gallop of a horse with a great deal of speed. This he compares, not to a tempest, which would have been very improper, but to a north-wind in the summer-time blowing regularly, and uniform. "Summae "sylvae sonantes," and "longi fluctus urgentes ad littora," are the effect of such a wind, and "arva et aequora verrens" properly applied to it —The sense I have here given to Lenis is not

new or forced, and in this sense it is not inconsistent with swiftness. Virgil applies this epithet to the Tyber, which he always represents as a swift river:

" Leni fluit agmine Tybris." Aen. II. 782.

And certainly it cannot be denied but that the swiftest motions may be very smooth.—Compare this description with Georg. I. 318, etc. where Virgil has described a storm, and you will soon be convinced that he thought of nothing less than a storm or hurricane here.

VER. 202—204.

" Hic, vel ad Elei metas et maxima campi
" Sudabit spatia, et spumas aget ore cruentas;
" Belgica vel *[1] molli melius ferret *[2] esseda collo."

*[1] " Tender neck, unaccustomed to the yoke, not galled." So Catullus, in his Epithalamium Thetidos et Pelei, to express the peasants leaving their work, and the cattle not going to plough, says:

" Rura colit nemo, mollescunt colla juvencis."

*[2] This sort of chariot, which was first used by the Belgae and Britons, as we are informed by Caesar and others, was probably in Virgil's time used likewise in Italy; and is therefore here mentioned by him. I am of opinion, that Lucan hints at their being introduced in Italy, when he says:

" Et docilis rector monstrati Belga covini." Lib. I. 426.

Covinus and Essedum signify the same thing, viz. a very light chaise, for expedition.—Silius Italicus, speaking of the Astures, says:

—— " His parvus sonipes, nec Marti notus; at idem
" Aut inconcusso glomerat vestigia dorso,
" Aut molli pacata celer trahit esseda collo." Lib. III.

VER. 205—208.

" Tum demum crassâ magnum * farragine corpus
" Crescere jam domitis sinito: namque ante domandum
" Ingentes tollent animos; prensique negabunt
" Verbera lenta pati, et duris parere lupatis."

* " Farrago fit optima, cum cantherini hordei decem modiis " jugerum obseritur circa aequinoctium autumnale,—frigoribus, " cum alia pabula defecerunt, ea bubus caeterisque pecudibus " optimè desecta praebetur; et si depascere saepius voles, usque " in mensem Maium sufficit." Col. lib. II. c. xi.—" Cantherinum hordeum idem dicitur Hexastichum." C. ix.

Ver. 220—236.

" *[1] Illi alternantes multâ vi praelia miscent
" Vulneribus crebris: lavit ater corpora sanguis,
" Versaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vasto
" Cum gemitu: reboant sylvaeque et magnus Olympus.
" Nec mos bellantes unâ stabulare: sed alter
" Victus abit, longeque ignotis exulat oris:
" Multa gemens ignominiam, plagasque superbi
" Victoris, tum quos amisit inultus amores:
" Et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis.
" Ergo omni curâ vires exercet, et inter
" Dura jacet pernox instrato saxa cubili:
" Frondibus hirsutis et carice pastus acutâ:
" Et tentat sese, atque irasci in *[2] cornua discit
" Arboris obnixus trunco: ventosque lacessit
" Ictibus, et sparsâ ad pugnam proludit arenâ.
" Post, ubi collectum robur viresque receptae,
" Signa movet, praecepsque oblitum fertur in hostem."

*[1] The strength, gravity, and solemnity of this description is very remarkable——How few dactyls!

It seems to have been a particular favourite of the old poets.—Lucan has imitated it in his Pharsalia, lib. II. 601. Statius, in his Thebais, lib. II. 321. and Silius Italicus, at the beginning of his XVIth book.

*[2] Not his own horns, but the enemy's.

Ver. 258—263.

" Quid juvenis, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem
" Durus amor? nempe abruptis turbata procellis
" Nocte natat caecâ serus freta: quem super * ingens
" Porta tonat caeli et scopulis illisa reclamant
" Aequora: nec miseri possunt revocare parentes,
" Nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo."

* This certainly means the palace of Jove. See La Cerda, and Dr. Martyn.

Ver. 264—268.

" Quid lynces Bacchi variae, et genus acre luporum,
" Atque canum? quid, quae *[1] imbelles dant praelia cervi?
" Scilicet ante omnes *[2] furor est insignis equarum:
" Et mentem Venus ipsa dedit, quo tempore Glauci
" *[3] Potniades *[4] malis membra absumpsere quadrigae."

*[1] " Naturally not of a warlike disposition."—Sallust uses this word in the same sense in his character of Atherbal, Bell. Jugurth. " Quietus, imbellis, placidus ingenio."

*[2] Horace says to an old bawd:

——— "Tibi flagrans amor et libido,
"Quae solet matres furiare equorum,
"Saeviet circa jecur." Lib. I. Od. xxv.

*[3] "Est etiam ante Thebas fons Dirce et Potniae; ad quas "ferunt Glaucum Potniensem a Potniadibus equabus fuisse "discerptum prope ipsam urbem." Strabo, lib. IX.

*[4] This expression, "malis absumere," certainly carried an idea in the Roman language of something more ravenous than the literal construction imports in ours: for I observe that the Harpy Celaeno, when she prophesies to Aeneas and his companions that they should be reduced to such extreme hunger, as to be forced to devour their own tables, makes use of the same expression:

—— "Vos dira fames, nostraeque injuria caedis
"Ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas." Aen. III. 257.

VER. 269—279.

"Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transque sonantem
"*[1] Ascanium: superant montes, et flumina tranant:
"Continuòque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis,
"Vere magis (quia vere calor redit ossibus) illae
"*[2] Ore omnes versae in Zephyrum, stant rupibus altis,
"Exceptantque leves auras: et † *[3] saepe sine ullis
"Conjugiis, vento gravidae (mirabile dictu)
"Saxa per et scopulos et depressas convalles
"Diffugiunt: non, Eure, tuos, neque Solis ad ortus,
"In *[4] Boream, Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Auster
"Nascitur, et pluvio contristat *[5] frigore caelum."

*[1] Strabo places Mysia and Phrygia on the banks of this river, and the Palus Ascania, lib. XII.—That it is a fruitful country appears from Homer: ἐξ Ἀσκανίης ἐριβώλακος. Il. R. 793.

*[2] I take the meaning of this, and what follows afterwards, "non, Eure, tuos," etc. to be, "that mares are impregnated "by the west-wind; and after they are impregnated, they then "run, not to the east, but to the north or south."

Dr. Martyn observes, that commentators dispute much about this expression, "Nigerrimus Auster pluvio contristat frigore "caelum;" the south, as they say, being commonly a warm wind. But the Doctor well observes from Columella, that the time when mares are seized with this fury is about the vernal equinox. I think this is a very lively description in few words of the black melancholic weather, attended with cold and rains, which we usually have, even though the wind is south, about the equinox, the month of March.

† This is not any poetical fancy of Virgil's. It was commonly believed in his time; and Columella makes no manner of doubt of the truth of it.—" Nec dubium, quin aliquot regio-" nibus tanto flagrent ardore coeundi feminae, ut etiam si marem " non habeant, assidua et nimia cupiditate figurantes sibi ipsae " venerem (cohortalium more avium) vento concipiant.—— " Cum sit notissimum etiam in sacro monte Hispaniae, qui pro-" currit in occidentem juxta Oceanum, frequenter equas sine " coïtu ventrem pertulisse, foetumque educasse, qui tamen " inutilis est, quod triennio, prius quam adolescat, morte ab-" sumitur." Lib. VI. c. xxvii.

*[3] " Constat in Lusitaniâ circa Ulyssiponem oppidum et " Tagum amnem equas Favonio flante obversas animalem con-" cipere spiritum, idque partum fieri, et gigni pernicissimum " ita, sed triennium vitae non excedere." Plin. l. VIII. c. 42. Virgil is more modest.——" In foeturâ res incredibilis est in " Hispaniâ, sed est vera; quod in Lusitaniâ ad Oceanum in eâ " regione ubi est oppidum Olysippo, monte Tagro, quaedam e " vento concipiant certo tempore equae; ut hic gallinae quoque " solent, quarum ova ὑπηνέμια appellant. Sed ex his equis, qui " nati pulli, non plus triennium vivunt." Var. De re rust. lib. II. c. i.

*[4] " In Boream, Caurumve, aut," etc. that is, as soon as they have conceived, they run towards the North or the South; and it is expressly affirmed by Pliny that they do so after copulation. " Equae à coïtu solae animalium currunt ex adverso " Aquilonum Austrorumve prout marem aut feminam conce-" pere." Lib. X. c. lxiii.

*[5] Frigus does not always signify extreme cold or frost; but moderate, as the coolness of the morning or evening in Summer; as plainly appears from verse 321 to 337, where Virgil speaks of " frigidus Vesper," and, " Luciferi primo cum sidere," when he is speaking of the Summer.

VER. 284, 285.

" Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus,
" Singula dum capti circumvectamur * amore."

* The Poet corrects himself very prettily for having dwelt so long on this subject, and lays the fault on love, the effects of which he feels, and is himself insnared whilst he is describing the passion.

VER. 295—304.

" Incipiens, stabulis edico in *[1] mollibus herbam
" Carpere oves, dum mox frondosa reducitur aestas:
" Et multâ duram stipulâ filicumque maniplis
" Sternere subter humum: glacies ne frigida laedat

"Molle pecus, scabiemque ferat; turpesque podagras.
"Post, hinc digressus, jubeo frondentia capris
"Arbuta sufficere, et fluvios praebere recentes;
"Et stabula à ventis hiberno opponere soli
"Ad medium conversa diem: cum frigidus olim
"Jam cadit, extremoque irrorat *[2] Aquarius anno."

*[1] "Cum aliquot dies steterunt, subjicere oportet virgulta "alia, quo molliùs requiescant, purioresque sint; libentius enim "ita pascuntur." Varr. lib. II. c. ii.—In the same place he further directs; "Stabula idoneo loco ut sint, ne ventosa."—And says in the next chapter, that the same rule will serve for goats.

*[2] We see this sign always represented as pouring out of an urn.

VER. 305—307.

"Hae quoque non curâ nobis leviore tuendae,
"Nec minor usus erit: quamvis * Milesia magno
"Vellera mutentur, Tyrios incocta rubores."

* "Lana laudatissima Apula; et quae in Italiâ Graeci pecoris "appellatur, alibi Italica; tertium locum Milesiae oves obti- "nent." Plin. l. VIII. c. xlviii.

VER. 311—313.

"Nec minus interea barbas incanaque menta
"Cinyphii tondent * hirci, setasque comantes;
"Usum in castrorum et miseris velamina nautis."

* This is certainly used in the nominative plural. Making the goats give up their beards themselves for the service of man, is very poetical. So,

"Dant arbuta sylvae." Georg. II. ver. 520.

and Virgil very frequently uses the same manner of expression. Putting Hirci in the genitive case, or introducing a different reading (Hircis) is losing the whole beauty and energy of the thought. —— Varro speaks thus on this very subject—"Ut fructum "ovis è lanâ ad vestimentum, sic capra pilos ministrat ad usum "nauticum, et ad bellica tormenta, et fabrilia vasa."—If a grave prose writer may say "*Capra ministrat pilos* ad usum "nauticum," etc. surely a Poet may be allowed to say, "Hir- "cus tondet barbam in usum castrorum," etc.

Ovid celebrates the Cinyphian as a corn country.

"Cinyphiae segetis citius numerabis aristas."
De Ponto. lib. II. Ep. vii.

Ver. 316, 317.

" Atque ipsae memores redeunt in tecta; * suosque
" Ducunt; et gravido superant vix ubere limen."

* Dr. Martyn observes that most of the commentators following Servius, interpret Suos, their young ones; but that La Cerda thinks it means, their pastors. The former opinion has nothing singular in it, for if the dams go home, it must be imagined that the young ones do not stay behind.—I take the latter to be Virgil's meaning, that instead of being driven home to be milked, they even of themselves shew their conductors the way; which is likewise true, and enlivens the former part of the sentence.

Ver. 322—334.

——— " Zephyris cum laeta vocantibus aestas,
" In saltus utrumque gregem atque in pascua mittes;
" Luciferi *[1] primo cum sidere frigida rura
" Carpamus: dum mane novum, dum gramina canent,
" Et ros in tenerâ pecori gratissimus herbâ est.
" Inde, ubi quarta *[2] sitim caeli collegerit hora,
" Et cantu querulae rumpent arbusta cicadae;
" Ad puteos, aut alta greges ad stagna jubeto
" Currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam:
" Aestibus et mediis umbrosam exquirere vallem:
" Sicubi magna Jovis antiquo robore quercus
" Ingentes tendat ramos, aut sicubi *[3] nigrum
" Ilicibus crebris sacrâ nemus accubet umbrâ."

*[1] " Aestate primâ luce exeunt pastum, propterea quod tunc " herba roscida meridianam, quae est aridior, jucunditate prae- " stat: sole exorto potum propellunt, ut redintegrantes rursus " ad pastum alacriores faciant. Circiter meridianos aestus, " dum defervescant, sub umbriferas rupes et arbores patulas " subjiciunt, quoad refrigerato aëre vespertino rursus pascant " ad solis occasum.—Ab occasu parvo intervallo interposito " ad bibendum appellunt, et rursus pascunt quoad contene- " bravit: iterum enim tum jucunditas in herbâ redintegravit." Varro. lib. II. c. ii.—Columella says, " a kal. Juniis, si jam de- " ficit viridis herba, usque in ultimum Autumnum frondem " caesam pecori praebebimus," lib. XI. c. ii.

*[2] " Collegerit sitim caeli;" has brought a general drought, so that the heaven itself has drunk up the dew.——Or by " sitim caeli," he means the dew, which the heaven has sucked up. When the fourth hour has drawn up the dew, which he calls the thirst of heaven, or what the heaven thirsts after.

*[3] Virgil uses the same epithet again, Aen. IX. 381.

" Sylva fuit late dumis atque ilice nigrâ
" Horrida."———

Ver. 335—338.

" Tum tenues dare rursus aquas, et pascere rursus
" Solis ad occasum : cum frigidus aëra Vesper
" Temperat, et saltus reficit jam roscida Luna;
" Litoraque halcyonem resonant, et * acanthida dumi.

* " Acanthis, avis minima, duodenos gignit." Plin. lib. X. c. lxiii. " Acanthis in spinis vivit." Idem, l. X. c. lxxiv.

Ver. 339—345.

" Quid tibi pastores *[1] Libyae, quid pascua versu
" Prosequar, et raris habitata *[2] mapalia tectis?
" Saepe diem noctemque et totum ex ordine mensem
" Pascitur, itque pecus longa in deserta sine ullis
" Hospitiis : tantum campi jacet : omnia secum
" Armentarius Afer agit ; tectumque, laremque,
" Armaque, Amyclaeumque canem, Cressamque pharetram."

*[1] That there were Nomades in Arabia and several other parts of the world formerly, as well as there are at present, is manifest from history ; but as they were so remarkable in Africa, that a large district of the country was from them called Numidia, therefore Virgil very properly lays the scene of this digression there.—Strabo, speaking of Numidia, says, " Singu-" lare quiddam hominibus iis accidit. Nam cùm regionem " uberem colerent nisi quod feris abundabat, his omissis, et agri " tuto colendi studio, in sese manus converterunt, agro feris " dimisso. Itaque contigit eis, ut vagi et patriae expertes " vitam agerent ; haud aliter quam qui ob inopiam et locorum " sterilitatem, et aëris inclementiam ad ejusmodi vitae genus " adiguntur. Hinc Massaesylii Nomadum seu Numidarum no-" men sunt adepti." N. B. The Greek name is Νομάδεις : and this was the name by which all the people who lived in so unsettled a manner were distinguished. So Strabo, just before the abovementioned passage, speaking of the Carthaginians, says : " Africam omnem sibi subjecerunt, quae non habitaretur ab " hominibus incertas ad sedes vagantibus. Τὴν Λιβύην κατεκτή-" σαντο πᾶσαν ὅσην μὴ Νομαδικῶς οἷόντ' ἦν οἰκεῖν."

*[2] Sallust, in his Jugurthine war, speaking of the old inhabitants of Africa, gives this account of their Mapalia.—" Post-" quam in Hispaniâ Hercules, sicut Afri putant, interiit; exer-" citus ejus compositus ex gentibus variis, amisso duce, brevi " dilabitur. Ex eo numero Medi, Persae, etc., navibus in Afri-

"cam transvecti. Hique alveos navium inversos pro tuguriis "habuere."—And then he adds; "Caeterum adhuc aedificia "Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga, in- "curvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt."———

Dausqueius in his notes on Silius Italicus, understands by "raris tectis," thin slight covering, "*Vento scilicet et aurâ* "*perflabilibus.*" The Mapalia being made only of reed and cane, as appears by that passage of Silius, which he is explaining:

"Castra levi calamo cannaque intorta palustri,
"Qualia Maurus amat dispersa mapalia pastor."
Lib. XVII.

But as Silius, in the same place, calls Mapalia, *dispersa*, there is as good reason to argue from by *raris tectis*, is meant, scattered up and down the country.

"Numidae Nomades appellantur a permutandis pabulis, ma- "palia sua, hoc est, domus plaustris circumferentes." Plin. lib. V. c. iii.

VER. 346—348.

"Non secus ac patriis acer Romanus in armis.
"* Injusto sub fasce viam cum carpit, et hosti
"Ante expectatum positis stat in agmine castris."

* It may well be supposed, that the ordinary baggage soldiers were obliged to carry with them, was esteemed "justus fascis," a reasonable burden, (of this see Vegetius); whatever exceeded this might properly be called "injustus fascis." Such a load they may be supposed to carry with them upon sudden marches, when they went to encamp themselves unexpectedly: upon which occasion every soldier might probably be obliged to carry palisades, a spade, or the like; and whatever was necessary for such a hasty encampment. According to this interpretation, there is no difficulty in the construction of the words, and the application of the comparison is just.———L. Florus, speaking of the strict discipline used by Scipio in his camp, when he besieged Numantia, says: "Tunc acrius in castris quàm in campo, "nostro cum milite, quàm cum Numantino, praeliandum fuit. "Quippe assiduis et *injustis* et servilibus maximè operibus "attriti," etc. Lib. II. c. xviii. What this strict discipline was, which Florus terms *injusta opera*, we may learn from Livy's account of the same war. Epitome, lib. lvii.——(Quaer. If Virgil, by his *injusto sub fasce*, does not refer to some remarkable campaign, about the time he was writing his Georgics, in which the same sort of discipline was required? and uses this epithet on purpose to shew the allusion?)

VER. 349—351.

" At non, qua Scythiae gentes, *[1] Moeoticaque unda,
" Turbidus, et torquens flaventes *[2] Ister arenas:
" Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem."

*[1] Ovid, who was banished to the mouth of the Danube, and lived there some years, writes an essay in his third book De Tristibus, entitled, " Quibuscum gentibus vivat;" and describes the country in which he then was in such a manner, that he seems almost to have copied Virgil; which shews how exact Virgil was in describing a country at that time so little known; and how much care he took to be well informed of what he wrote.

— " Jacet aggeribus niveis informis, et alto
" Terra gelu latè, septemque assurgit in ulnas.
" Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora cauri."
Ver. 356.

" At cùm tristis hiems squallentia protulit ora,
" Terraque marmoreo est candida facta gelu:
" Dum patet et Boreas, et nix jactata sub arcto;
" Tum patet has gentes axe tremente premi.
" Nix jacet; et jactam nec sol pluviaeque resolvunt:
" Indurat Boreas, perpetuamque facit.
" Ergo, ubi delicuit nondum prior, altera venit:
" Et solet in multis bima manere locis."
Ovid. De Trist. lib. III. El. x.

*[2] The Danubius; known formerly by both names, as Ovid testifies, when he calls it Binominis Istri, lib. I. De Ponto, Epist. ix.—And mentions Ister by the name Danubius, lib. IV. De Pont. Ep. ix.

VER. 352—359.

" Illic clausa tenent stabulis armenta: *[1] neque ullae
" Aut herbae campo apparent, aut arbore frondes;
" Sed jacet aggeribus niveis informis, et alto
" Terra gelu late, septemque assurgit in ulnas.
" Semper *[2] hiems, semper *[3] spirantes frigora cauri.
" Tum sol pallentes haud unquam discutit umbras:
" Nec cum invectus equis altum petit aethera; nec cum
" Praecipitem oceani rubro lavit aequore currum."

*[1] Horace gives the like description:

" Pone me pigris ubi nulla campis
" Arbor aestivâ recreatur aurâ:
" Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
" Jupiter urget." Lib. I. Od. xxii.

*[2] Varro, speaking of the advantageous situation of Italy, says; " Haec temperatior pars est Europae, quam interior; nam " intus pene sempiternae hiemes. Neque mirum, quod sunt " regiones inter circuitum septentrionalem et inter cardinem " caeli, ubi sol etiam sex mensibus continuis non videtur :" which Virgil describes as follows,

" Tum sol pallentes," etc. Lib. I. c. ii.

Virgil cannot here mean, that the winter in that country lasts the whole year; at least with the severity he describes: that would be inconsistent with other passages of his account: but when the winter once begins, it continues uninterrupted, as it is known to do in the most northern countries: no zephyrs during the winter months; no thaws, as in Italy. So Ovid, describing the same country as Virgil does, calls the Snow there Perpetuam; and yet speaking of that country at the time of the Vernal Equinox, he says:

" At mihi sentitur nix verno sole soluta,
" Quaeque lacu duro vix fodiantur aquae.
" Nec mare concrescit glacie: nec, ut ante, per Istrum
" Stridula Sauromates plaustra bubulcus agit."
Trist. lib. III. El. xii.

Yet in another place he says of this country;

——— " Nunquam sine frigore caelum,
" Glebaque canenti semper adusta gelu." Lib. V. c. iii.

And, again, speaking of the same, he says;

" Tu neque ver sentis cinctum florente coronâ,
" Tu neque messorum corpora nuda vides.
" Nec tibi pampineas autumnus porrigit uvas:
" Cuncta sed immodicum tempora frigus habent.—
" Rara nec hic felix in apertis eminet arvis
" Arbor; et in terrâ est altera forma maris."
De Ponto, lib. III. Epist. i.

——— " Hiemi continuatur hiems." Lib. I. Ep. ii.

This is imitated by Silius in Hannibal's march.

" Nullum ver usquam, nullique aestatis honores.
" Sola jugis habitat diris, sedesque tuetur
" Perpetuas deformis hiems."——— Lib. III.

*[3] The sound of these words well suits a northern throat. A man seems hoarse when he pronounces them.

Ver. 360—366.

"*[1] Concrescunt subitae currenti in flumine *[2] crustae:
"Undaque jam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes,
"Puppibus illa prius patulis, nunc hospita plaustris:
"Aeraque dissiliunt vulgo, vestesque rigescunt
"Indutae, *[3] caeduntque securibus humida vina;
"Et totae solidam in glaciem vertere lacunae;
"Stiriaque impexis induruit horrida *[4] barbis.

"*[1] Quid loquar ut cuncti concrescant frigore rivi, etc.
"Quaque rates ierant pedibus nunc itur, et undas
"Frigore concretas ungula pulsat equi:
"Perque novos pontes, subterlabentibus undis,
"Ducunt Sarmatici barbara plaustra boves."

See more to this purpose, Ovid, De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. vii. ad Vestalem.

This Ovid supposes to be so strange to the Romans that he adds;

"Vix equidem credar, sed cum sint praemia falsi
"Nulla, ratam debet testis habere fidem:
"Vidimus ingentem glacie consistere pontum,
"Lubricaque immotas testa premebat aquas." Ovid.

*[2] What Virgil calls Crusta, Ovid expresses by Testa.

*[3] "Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testae
"Vina; nec hausta meri, sed data frusta bibunt." Ovid.

Again, he says;

"Ipse vides gelido stantia vina gelu."
De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. vii.

*[4] "Saepe sonant moti glacie pendente capilli,
"Et nitet inducto candida barba gelu."
De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. vii.

That they wore long beards. Lib. V. El. vii. Trist.

"Non coma, non ullâ barba resecta manu."

Ver. 371, 372.

"Hos non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis,
"Puniceaeve agitant pavidos formidine * pennae."

* So Lucan;

——— "Sic dum pavidos formidine cervos
"Claudat odoratae metuentes aëra pennae."
Phars. IV. 437.

VER. 379, 380.

—— " Noctem ludo ducunt, et pocula laeti
" * Fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea sorbis."

* Motraye in his travels mentions a liquor called Boza, used in Crim Tartary; which he describes as a thick white liquor, made of a certain quantity of millet flour and water, which ferments together, and will fuddle any one who drinks much of it. Book II. c. ii. § 3.

VER. 381—383.

" Talis Hyperboreo septem subjecta trioni
" Gens effraena virûm *[1] Riphaeo tunditur Euro;
" Et pecudum fulvis velantur corpora *[2] setis."

*[1] The antients had a very confused and uncertain notion of the Riphaean mountains; as appears from Athenaeus, Stephanus, and others; but the most common opinion was, that they were the most distant ridge of mountains towards the north, or rather north-east, from Italy; the country of the Getae, and Sarmatae.—It was likewise believed that those mountains were joined to Thrace, etc. and likewise to the Alps by a continued chain. This Virgil expressly declares a few lines before, in this same book;

" Quaque redit medium Rhodope porrecta sub axem:"

And, again, in the fourth book, he hints the same in the story of Orpheus, when he makes him ramble wildly over mountains and deserts. He names, " Hyperboreas glacies, Tanaim nivalem, " Riphaeas pruinas, et Oeagrium Hebrum."

*[2] " Pellibus hirsutis arcent mala frigora bracchis." Ovid.

Again:

" Pellibus et laxis arcent mala frigora bracchis."
Trist. lib. V. El. vii.

Of the custom among the barbarous nations of covering themselves with skins, see Tacitus De mor. Germ.—Caesar, lib. VI. —Ammian, lib. XXXI. c. ii.—Justin. lib. II.—Senec. Epist. XC. —Arrian, lib. VIII.—and Strabo, lib. XVII.——Several nations in America have still no other habit: no more have the Laplanders.

VER. 386—389.

——— " Continuo greges villis lege mollibus albos.
" Illum autem, quamvis aries sit candidus ipse,
" * Nigra subest udo tantum cui lingua palato,

" Rejice, ne maculis infuscet vellera pullis
" Nascentum."———

Varro, speaking De Arietibus, says: " Animadvertendum " quoque linguâne nigrâ aut variâ sit, quod fere qui ea habent, " nigros aut varios procreant agnos." Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 394, 395.

——" Cui lactis amor, cytisum, * lotosque frequentes
" Ipse manu, salsasque ferat praesepibus herbas."

* The Lotus here meant is undoubtedly the Italian, which Pliny says was very common amongst them, but different from the African: " Et ipsam Italiae familiarem, sed terrâ mutatam." Lib. XIII. c. xvii.

VER. 404—408.

" Nec tibi cura canum fuerit postrema: sed unà
" Veloces *[1] Spartae catulos, acremque Molossum
" Pasce sero pingui: nunquam custodibus illis
" Nocturnum stabulis furem, incursusque luporum,
" Aut impacatos à tergo horrebis *[2] Iberos."

*[1] " Boni seminii canes à regionibus appellantur Lacones, " Epirotici, Sallentini." Varro, lib. II. c. ix.—In the same chapter giving directions to feed dogs with bread and milk, he gives this reason for it: " Quod eo consueti cibo uti, à pecore " non citò desciscunt."

*[2] " Cantabros, qui maximè hodiè latrocinia exercent, iisque " vicinos Caesar Augustus subegit: et qui ante Romanorum " socios populabantur, nunc pro Romanis arma ferunt, ut " Coniaci et qui ad fontes Iberi amnis accolunt," etc. Strabo, lib. III.——As the Iberi were famous for robberies, Virgil well employs their names for common thieves.

By Impacatos Virgil restrains his meaning so, as to extend it only to such wild Iberi as were not yet civilized by Augustus. Horace mentions the Cantaber on the coasts conquered by Augustus:

" Servit Hispaniae vetus hostis orae
" Cantaber, serâ domitus catenâ." Lib. III. Od. viii.

" A tergo;" whilst the shepherd is leading his flock, according to the custom in Italy, the sheep-stealers might easily come behind and pick up a sheep, were there not dogs to watch.

VER. 409—413.

" Saepe etiam cursu timidos agitabis *[1] onagros;
" Et canibus leporem, canibus venabere damas.

" Saepe *[2] volutabris pulsos sylvestribus apros
" Latratu turbabis agens: montesque per altos
" Ingentem clamore premes ad retia cervum."

*[1] Varro says; " Asinorum genera duo. Unum ferum, quos " vocant Onagros; in Phrygiâ et Lycaoniâ sunt greges multi: " alterum mansuetum, ut sunt in Italiâ omnes. Ad semina-" tionem onagrus idoneus, quod è fero fit mansuetus facilè, et è " mansueto ferus nunquam." Lib. II. c. vi.———That the Romans used to eat the wild ass appears from Pliny.—" Pullos " asinarum epulari Maecenas instituit, multum eo tempore " praelatus onagris." Lib. VIII. c. 43. And in the following chapter he says: " Pullis onagrorum, seu praestantibus sapore, Africa gloriatur."

*[2] That is; " Loca ubi se volutant," where they wallow. Varro uses the same word, speaking of boars: " Admissuras " cum faciunt, prodigunt in lutosos limites ac lustra, ut volu-" tentur in luto; quae est illorum requies, ut lavatio hominis." Lib. II. c. iv.

Ver. 414, 415.

" Disce et odoratam stabulis accendere cedrum,
" *[1] Galbaneoque agitare graves nidore *[2] chelydros."

*[1] Columella mentions Galbanum being an antidote against serpents.—" Cavendum ne (pulli) à serpentibus adflentur, " quarum odor tam pestilens est, ut interimat universos: id " vitatur saepius incenso galbano, etc. Quorum omnium fere " nidoribus praedicta pestis submovetur." Lib. VIII. c. v.

*[2] A sort of serpent, which Nicander, ver. 411. who otherwise calls it Δρύϊναν, elegantly describes as exhaling a smoking stench.

Κῆρα δέ τοι δρυίναο πιφαύσκεο, τὸν δὲ χέλυδρον
Ἐξέτεροι καλέουσι. τὸ δ' ἀπὸ χροὸς ἐχθρὸν ἄηται
Οἷον ὅτε πλαδόωντα περὶ σκῦλα καὶ δέρη ἵππων
Γναμπτόμενοι μυδόωσιν ὑπ' ἀρβήλοισι λάθαργοι, etc.

Lucan, in his description of the serpents of Africa, speaking of the Chelydri, calls them, " tracti viâ fumante," i. e. taken from the high way, which smokes with their steam. Pharsal. IX. 217.—By this it appears, that the distinguishing character of the Chelydri was, that they exhaled a smoking noisome stink, which Virgil certainly would not omit, and, therefore, as he has placed Nidore after Graves, so must it be joined with it in construction.———Ruaeus and other interpreters join Galbaneo with Nidore: and it may be so too, if Galbaneo cannot be used substantively, but then Nidore must be repeated.

VER. 445—451.

" Dulcibus idcirco fluviis pecus omne *[1] magistri
" Perfundunt; udisque aries in gurgite villis
" Mersatur, missusque secundo defluit amni:
" Aut tonsum tristi contingunt corpus *[2] amurcâ;
" Et spumas miscent argenti, vivaque sulfura,
" Idaeasque pices, et pingues unguine ceras,
" Scillamque helleborosque graves, nigrumque bitumen."

*[1] This was the proper title given to the bailiff, or superintendent over the several shepherds or herdmen, who had the care of large flocks, or herds; his business was to govern the rest, to see they did their duty, and to provide every thing necessary both for the shepherds and their flocks; as appears plainly from Varro, who observes, that ten or twelve shepherds were necessary to take care of a thousand sheep; and that the head person, who presided over them, was called Magister. " Oportet pastores esse omnes sub uno magistro pecoris; eum " esse majorem natu potius quam alios, et peritiorem quam " reliquos; quod iis, qui aetate et scientiâ praestant, animo " aequiore reliqui parent.——Magistrum providere oportet " quae pecori et pastoribus opus sunt, maximè ad victum ho- " minum, et ad medicinam pecudum." Lib. II. c. x.

*[2] Varro prescribes as follows—" Tonsas recentes eodem die " perungunt vino et oleo: non nemo admixtâ cerâ albâ, et adipe " suillo.———Siqua in tonsurâ plagam accepit, eum locum " oblinunt pice liquidâ." Lib. II. c. xi.

VER. 457—463.

" Quin etiam ima dolor balantum lapsus ad ossa
" Cum furit, atque artus depascitur arida febris;
" Profuit incensos aestus avertere, et inter
" Ima ferire pedis salientem sanguine venam:
" *[1] Bisaltae quo more solent; acerque *[2] Gelonus,
" Cum fugit in Rhodopen atque in deserta *[3] Getarum,
" Et lac concretum cum *[4] sanguine potat equino."

*[1] Livy, speaking of Macedonia, says: " Pars prima Bisaltas " habet fortissimos viros, trans Nessum amnem incolunt, et circa " Strymonem," lib. XLV. c. xxx.—And Pliny, " Amphipolis, " liberum oppidum; gens, Bisaltae," lib. IV. c. x.

*[2] " Longaque Sarmatici solvens jejunia belli
" Massagetes, quo fugit, equo, volucresque Geloni."
Lucan, lib. III. 282.

where he adds, " quo fugit," to shew that this was only done in time of distress and necessity.

" Et qui cornipedes in pocula vulnerat audax
" Massagetes."—— Claudian, lib. I. 311. in Rufinum.

" Sarmatarum quoque gentes aluntur crudâ farinâ, equino " lacte vel sanguine è cruris venis admixto." Plin. lib. XVIII. c. x.

" Venit et epoto Sarmata pastus equo."
Martial, De Spectac. Ep. iii.

—— " Laetum equino sanguine Concanum."
Hor. lib. III. Od. iv.

*[3] Ovid, speaking of the Getae (near neighbours to the place of his banishment, but on the north side of the Danube) says, that their chief security against the Romans was:

——— " Arcus plenaeque pharetrae,
" Quamque licet longis cursibus aptus equus:
" Quodque sitim didicêre diu tolerare, famemque,
" Quodque sequens nullas hostis habebit aquas."
De Ponto, lib. I. Epist. iii.

Which account agrees perfectly well with the description of the country by Motraye.

*[4] See Beauplan's account of people's eating the blood of horses, in his description of Ukraine.—See likewise an account of the Nagayans and Tartars eating horses' flesh and drinking mares' milk. Ant. Jenkenson's Travels, in Hackluyt's Voyages.

——— " Solitosque cruentum
" Lac potare Getas ac pocula tingere venis."
Sid. Apoll. Carm. VII. de Getis.

———Ἵππου
Αἵματι μίσγοντες λευκὸν γάλα δαῖτα τίθενται. Dionys. Perieg.

And Pliny: " Sarmatarum gentes hâc maxime pulte (scil. è " milio) aluntur, et crudâ etiam farinâ, equino lacte vel san- " guine è cruris venis admisto." Lib. XVIII. c. x. Νομάδες καλούμενοι ζῶντες ἀπὸ θρεμμάτων γάλακτος, καὶ τυροῦ, καὶ μάλιστα ἱππείου, Strabo. And, likewise, Hesiod:

——Γαλακτοφάγων εἰς γαῖαν ἀπώραις
Οἴκι' ἐχόντων.

Motraye, in his Travels, tells us, that the people of Akerman Tartary, between the Neister and the Danube, formerly the Desert of the Getes, and likewise several other herds of the Tartars, live still in the same manner.—He likewise informs us that the Tartars lead commonly two or three spare horses, to transport their plunder, or remount themselves in case that

those they ride should die.——He likewise tells a story that one of his guides, after having rambled a long time in one of these deserts, let his horse blood, and drank the blood.—He likewise tells us that they drink their mares' milk fermented, Vol. II. c. ii. at the latter end.

VER. 470—473.

" Non tam * creber, agens hiemem, ruit aequore turbo ;
" Quàm multae pecudum pestes : nec singula morbi
" Corpora corripiunt ; sed tota aestiva repente
" Spemque gregemque simul, cunctamque ab origine gentem."

* I take *creber* in this place to signify quick, and that the meaning of the passage is, that a hurricane does not come on with more violence, than distempers or plagues incident to cattle, which is the reason of the advice just before given, ver. 468, 469. to kill any sheep on the first suspicion of any contagious distemper, to prevent its spreading. And this agrees with what follows ; " nec singula," etc.

VER. 474—477.

" Tum sciat aërias Alpes, et Norica si quis
" Castella in *[2] tumulis, et Iapidis arva Timavi,
" Nunc quoque post tanto videat, desertaque regna
" Pastorum, et longe saltus lateque vacantes."

*[1] Isiodorus says : " Virgilius Alpes dicendo aërias verbum " expressit à verbo, nam Gallorum linguâ Alpes, montes alti " vocantur." Origin. Lib. XIV. c. viii. And Servius on the tenth Aeneid observes the same. And it is true that, according to this etymology of the word, other high mountains were likewise called Alpes : as the Pyrenean, as appears from Procopius, lib. I. Rer. Goth. and Silius, lib. II. who calls the Alpes and Pyrenean, *Geminas Alpeis :* likewise the Carpathian mountains, to the north of Dacia, are called in the Tabula Itineraria, *Basternicae Alpes.* But others of the antients derived the name " Alpes ab albo," as we are expressly told by Festus : " Alpes à candore nivium dictae sunt, quia perpetuis " fere nivibus albescunt : Sabini enim alpum dixere, quod " postea Latini album ; unde Alpium nomen." And Strabo, Eustathius in Dionys. and Mela, all testify that these mountains were called indifferently *Albia,* as well as *Alpia juga.*

*[2] This word seems to signify properly, not only a hillock, as commonly, but such part of a hill or mountain as rose to a head, or point, above the body. So, likewise, in the twelfth Aeneid, Virgil calls the summit or point of the mountain above " Albano, Albanus tumulus ;" now, Monte Cavo. The Greeks called the Tumuli, λόφοι. See Appian, where he speaks of

Metulum, in Iapygia, taken by Augustus: the same country as Virgil is here speaking of.

VER. 478—485.

"Hic quondam *[1] morbo caeli miseranda coorta est
"Tempestas, *[2] totoque autumni incanduit aestu.
"Et genus omne neci pecudum dedit, omne ferarum,
"Corrupitque lacus, infecit pabula tabo.
"Nec via mortis erat *[3] simplex: sed ubi ignea venis
"Omnibus acta sitis miseros adduxerat artus;
"Rursus abundabat fluidus liquor; omniaque in se
"Ossa minutatim morbo collapsa trahebat."

*[1] Virgil, in this description of the plague amongst the cattle, had undoubtedly some view to the celebrated plague of Athens, described by Thucydides and Lucretius; and several of his observations and expressions are copied from thence: but it is not reasonable to conclude (as some have done) that he means the same plague. He places his in a different country; and, besides, the plague of Athens infected both man and beast, whereas in this of Virgil, though all other animals are infected, man only escapes. Dr. Martyn supposes, from the names Chiron and Melampus, that this pestilence happened in their time, five hundred years before that of Athens; but, with submission, I think there is no necessity of going so far back.

*[2] I think Dr. Trapp gives these words their plain and true meaning.

——— "With all the fire of Autumn burn'd."

*[3] I take this to signify, that Death did not appear in one single shape. The Poet explains himself by immediately adding two different symptoms of the same distemper, which seemed directly contrary one to the other. The cattle were parched with such heat and drought as to contract their limbs, and again were swelled with humours as if dropsical.——This explanation answers exactly to the observations of Dr. Bertrand, one of the physicians of Marseilles in the time of their late plague.—His words are as follow:—— "Il seroit difficile de "determiner la nature de ce venin à la maniere dont il agit "dans le sang: accoutumés à tout raporter à nos idées, et ne "connoissant que deux manieres dont le sang peut être altéré "et se corrompre, on demandera d'abord si ce venin dissout le "sang; ou bien, s'il le fige et le coagule. La bizarrerie des "symptomes a fait qu'on n'a pû s'assurer précisément ni de "l'un ni de l'autre, et que même on a crû voir ces deux états "du sang se succéder souvent dans le même malade; on n'a

" pas pû fonder aucun jugement solide sur la vûe du sang dans
" la palette, ayant paru dans les uns d'une consistance natu-
" relle, dans les autres peu lié et plus liquide, et dans d'autres
" tout-à fait coüeneux et inflammatoire; dans les uns tout-à-
" fait figé, en sorte qu'il n'en sortoit pas une goute par l'ou-
" verture de la veine; dans les autres, entierement dissous et
" fondu." See Observations sur la maladie contagieuse de Marseilles, printed at the end of Relation Historique de la Peste de Marseilles en 1720.

Silius, speaking in Hannibal's march of the beasts falling in the snow, and leaving their legs behind them, expresses himself by a foolish imitation of Virgil:

" Nec pestis lapsus simplex." Lib. III.

VER. 486—488.

" Saepe in honore Deûm medio stans hostia ad aram,
" Lanea dum niveâ circumdatur * infula vittâ,
" Inter cunctantes cecidit moribunda ministros."

* A broad woollen swathe fastened to the head of the victim, and likewise of the priest, being interlaced with a Vitta or smaller fillet:

" Infula cui sacrâ redimibat tempora vittâ." Aen. X. 538.

The ends of the fillets probably hung down. See Lucretius, lib. I. 87. Lucan, describing the dress of the priestess of Delphi, gives different uses to the Infula and Vitta:

——— " Torta priores
" Stringit vitta comas, crinesque in terga solutos
" Candida Phocaica complectitur infula lauro."
Lib. V. 142.

VER. 531—533.

" Tempore non alio dicunt regionibus illis
" Quaesitas ad sacra boves Junonis, et * uris
" Imparibus ductos alta ad donaria currus."

* The wild bull, or cow; of which there were probably great numbers in the forests of Germany, as there still are several towards the north parts: and called in German, *Urox;* which, it is not unlikely, was the antient name, softened by the Latin termination into Urus. It is written, as I am informed, in high Dutch, *Urrocks*.

VER. 548—550.

——— " Nec jam mutari pabula refert,
" Quaesitaeque nocent artes: cessere magistri,
" Phillyrides * Chiron, Amythaoniusque Melampus."

* Columella, enumerating such as were most celebrated in their way in several sciences, reckons "in pecoris cultu, doctrinam Chironis ac Melampodis." Pref.

VER. 559, 560.

"Nam neque erat coriis usus: nec viscera quisquam
"Aut * undis abolere potest, aut vincere flammâ."

* The two great purifiers are fire and water. Virgil in his purgatory supposes the spots of souls cleansed, some by fire, and some by water:

——— "Sub gurgite vasto
"Infectum eluitur scelus, aut exuritur igni."
Aen. VI. 742.

GEORGIC THE FOURTH.

VER. 1—7.

"PROTINUS aërii mellis caelestia dona
"Exequar: hanc etiam, Maecenas, aspice partem.
"Admiranda tibi levium * spectacula rerum,
"Magnanimosque duces, totiusque ordine gentis
"Mores, et studia, et populos, et praelia dicam.
"In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria: si quem
"Numina laeva sinunt; auditque vocatus Apollo."

* Spectacula here is very pretty; this book being, as it were, the representation of the affairs of a busy kingdom in miniature.

VER. 8—12.

"Principio *[1] sedes apibus statioque petenda,
"Quo neque sit ventis aditus (nam pabula venti
"Ferre domum prohibent), neque oves haedique petulci
"Floribus insultent; aut errans bucula campo
"Decutiat *[2] rorem, et surgentes atterat herbas.

*[1] "Sedes apibus collocanda est, procul a tumultu, ac coetu "hominum ac pecudum; nec calido loco, nec frigido. Si "villae situs ita competit, non est dubitandum, quin aedificio "junctum apiarium maceriâ circumdemus; sed in eâ parte,

"quae tetris latrinae sterquiliniique et balinei libera est odo-"ribus." Col. lib. IX. c. v.

*[2] Columella affirms from Celsus——"Ex floribus ceras "fieri: ex matutino rore, mella." Lib. IX. c. xiv.

VER. 13—17.

"Absint et picti *[1] squalentia terga *[2] lacerti
"Pinguibus à stabulis, *[3] meropesque aliaeque volucres,
"Et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis.
"Omnia nam latè vastant, ipsasque volantes
"Ore ferunt, dulcem nidis immitibus escam."

*[1] Both here, and ver. 91, Squalens is used for glittering.

*[2] Columella directs; "Debebit suggestus lapideus dili-"genter opere tectorio levigari; ita ne ascensus lacertis, aut "anguibus, aliisve noxiis animalibus praebeatur." Lib. IX. c. vii.

*[3] Virgil seems to mean martins and such birds should be destroyed, as usually build under the roofs of houses, porticoes, etc. because, as appears from Varro, Columella, etc. their hives used commonly to be placed in niches made in the walls of their villas, or under porticoes. "Quod ad locum pertinet, "hoc genus potissimum eligendum juxta villam: non quo non "in villae porticu quoque quidam (quo tutius essent) alvearia "collocarint." Var. lib. III. c. xvi. And a little before, in the same chapter: "Alnos ita collocant in mutulis parietis, ut "ne agitentur, neve inter se contingant."——Columella, to the same purpose, in the beginning of the ninth book, "Apibus da-"batur sedes adhuc nostrâ memoriâ, vel ipsis villae parietibus "excisis, vel in protectis porticibus ac pomariis."——In the fourth chapter of the same book, treating De pastionibus apum, he says; "Pabulationes sint secretissimae, et, ut noster praecepit "Maro, viduae pecudibus, aprico, et minimè procelloso caeli "statu."

VER. 18—24.

"At *[1] liquidi fontes, et stagna virentia musco
"Adsint, et tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus;
"*[2] Palmaque vestibulum, aut ingens oleaster inumbret;
"Ut, cum prima novi ducent examina reges
"Vere *[3] suo, ludetque favis emissa juventus;
"Vicina invitet decedere ripa calori,
"Obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbos."

*[1] "Potio apibus aqua liquida, unde bibant, esse oportet, "eamque propinquam, quae praeterfluit, aut in aliquem locum "influat, ita ut ne altitudine ascendat duo aut tres digitos: in "quâ aquâ jaceant testae aut lapilli, ita ut extent paulum; "ubi assidere et bibere possint. In quâ diligenter habenda

"cura, ut aqua sit pura, quod ad mellificium bonum vehementer "prodest." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

*[2] Columella gives no instructions on this head; but he quotes this and the four following verses, as a plain and sufficient direction, without further authority. Lib. IX. c. v.

*[3] Suo is here very expressive: for the time here meant by the Poet is not properly that season or quarter of the year allotted to the Spring, as is known to every body; for the Spring ended about the sixth of the Ides of May; and, as Columella observes: "Cum fit Vergiliarum exortus circa v. id. "Maias, incipiunt examina viribus et numero augeri." Lib. IX. c. xiv.——Therefore it is here emphatically *their* Spring.—As the Spring of the year is the season, when every thing begins to shoot, so the time, when the young begin to appear, is metaphorically their Spring: or it may be because flowers, the ornament of the Spring, are their life.

VER. 25—32.

"In medium, seu stabit iners, seu profluet humor,
"Tranversas salices et grandia conjice saxa:
"*[1] Pontibus ut crebris possint consistere, et alas
"Pandere ad aestivum solem; si forte morantes
"Sparserit, aut praeceps Neptuno immerserit Eurus.
"Haec *[2] circum casiae virides, et olentia late
"Serpylla, et graviter spirantis copia thymbrae
"Floreat: irriguumque bibant violaria fontem."

Columella gives the following direction. "Perennis aqua, "si est facultas, inducatur, vel extructo canali manu detur; sine "quâ, neque favi, neque mella, nec pulli denique figurari "queunt. Sive igitur praeterfluens unda, vel putealis canali- "bus immissa fuerit, virgis ac lapidibus aggeretur apum "causâ." And then concludes with citing the three following verses:

"Pontibus ut crebris," etc. Lib. IX. c. viii. (See ver. 18.)

*[2] Columella, having said, "Judaeam et Arabiam pretiosis "odoribus illustrem haberi;" adds, "sed nec nostram civita- "tem praedictis egere stirpibus: quippe cum pluribus locis "urbis, jam casiam frondentem conspicimus," etc. Lib. III. c. viii.——Quaer. If Virgil's Casia?

*[3] Columella, having reckoned up a great number of shrubs, flowers and trees agreeable to bees, concludes; "Verum ex "cunctis quae proposui, quaeque omisi temporis compendia se- "quens (nam inexputabilis erat numerus) saporis praecipui "mella reddit thymus. Thymo deinde proxima thymbra, ser- "pyllumque, et origanum." Lib. IX. c. iv.

Ver. 33—41.

" Ipsa autem, seu corticibus tibi suta cavatis,
" Seu lento fuerint *[1] alvearia vimine texta,
" Angustos habeant *[2] aditus ; nam frigore mella
" Cogit hiems, eademque calor liquefacta remittit :
" Utraque vis apibus pariter metuenda : neque illae
" Nequicquam in tectis certatim tenuia cerâ
" Spiramenta *[3] linunt, fucoque et floribus oras
" Explent : collectumque haec ipsa ad munera gluten,
" Et visco et Phrygiae servant pice lentius Idae."

*[1] " Alvearia fabricanda sunt pro conditione regionis ; sive " illa ferax est suberis, haud dubitanter utilissimas alvos facie- " mus ex corticibus, quia nec hieme rigent, nec candent aestate. " Si suber non aderit, opere textorio salicibus connectuntur." Col. lib. IX. c. vi.

*[2] " Foramina, quibus exitus aut introitus datur, angustissima " esse debent, ut quam minimum frigoris admittant : eaque satis " est ita forari, ne possint capere plus unius apis incrementum. " Sic nec venenatus stellio, nec obscenum scarabaei vel papili- " onis genus, lucifugaeque blattae, ut ait Maro, per laxiora " spatia januae favos populantur. Atque utilissimum est pro " frequentiâ domicilii duos vel tres aditus in eodem operculo " distantes inter se fieri contra fallaciam lacerti, qui velut custos " vestibuli prodeuntibus inhians apibus affert exitium, eaeque " pauciores intereunt, cùm licet vitare pestis obsidia per aliud " vadentibus effugium." Col. lib. IX. c. vii.

*[3] Extra ostium alvei obturant omnia, quà venit, inter favos " spiritus, quam ἐριθάκην appellant Graeci." Var. lib. III. c. xvi. And in the same chapter afterwards ; " Erithacen vocant, " quo favos extremos inter se conglutinant," etc.

Ver. 45, 46.

" Tu tamen et *[1] levi rimosa cubilia limo
" Unge *[2] fovens circum, et raras *[3] superinjice frondes."

*[1] This epithet *levi* is very significant. Varro directs, " Vitiles alvos fimo bubulo oblinere intus, et extra ; ne apes " *asperitate* absterreantur." Lib. III. c. xvi.

*[2] " Fovens circum," prettily expresses the plasterer's manner of working.——As for the rest, Columella directs thus : " Ora cavearum, quae praebent apibus vestibula, proniora sint " quam terga ; ut ne influant imbres, et si forte tamen ingressi " fuerint, non immorentur, sed per aditum effluant : propter " quod convenit alvearia porticibus supermuniri ; sin aliter, " luto Punico frondibus illinitis adumbrari ; quod tegmen cum " frigora et pluvias, tum aestus arcet." Lib. IX. c. vii.

*[3] " Quamvis porticu protecta vasa, nihilominus congestu " culmorum et frondium supertegemus; quantumque res pati- " etur, a frigore et tempestatibus muniemus." Cap. xiv.

VER. 47—50.

" Neu propius tectis *[1] taxum sine; neve rubentes
" Ure foco cancros: altae neu crede *[2] paludi:
" Aut ubi odor coeni gravis, aut ubi concava pulsu
" Saxa sonant, vocisque offensa resultat *[3] imago."

*[1] Columella, speaking of forest trees fit to be planted near apiaries, says; " Taxi repudiantur." Lib. IX. c. iv.

" Gravis et tetri odoris non solum virentia, sed et quaelibet " res prohibeantur; sicuti cancri nidor, cum est ignibus adustus, " aut odor palustris coeni: nec minus vitentur cavae rupes, aut " valles argutae; quas Graeci ἠχοὺς vocant." Ibid. c. v.

*[2] " Sequuntur omnia pura; itaque nulla harum assidit in " loco inquinato, aut eo qui malè oleat; neque etiam in eo qui " bona olet unguenta; itaque his unctus qui accessit, pungunt." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

*[3] Varro makes one of his interlocutors give the following instructions about choosing the place for an apiary: " Primum, " secundum villam; potissimum ubi non resonent imagines; hic " enim sonus harum fugae causa existimatur esse."

VER. 51—54.

" Quod superest, ubi pulsam hiemem sol aureus egit
" Sub terras, caelumque aestiva luce reclusit:
" * Illae continuò saltus sylvasque peragrant,
" Purpureosque metunt flores, et flumina libant
" Summa leves."———

* This observation, with what follows, ver. 61,

——— " Aquas dulces, et frondea semper
" Tecta petunt," etc.

is confirmed by several passages in Columella; but particularly, lib. IX. c. viii. which directs, " quemadmodum sylvestria ex- " amina capiantur;" where he says: " Ubicunque saltus sunt " idonei, mellifici: nihil antiquius quam apes, quibus utantur, " vicinos eligunt fontes: eos itaque convenit plerumque ab horâ " secundâ obsideri, specularique quae turba sit aquantium. " Nam si paucae admodum circumvolant (nisi tamen complura " capita rivorum diductas faciunt rariores), intelligenda est " earum penuria, propter quam locum quoque non esse melli- " ficum suspicabimur. At si commeant frequentes, spem quoque " aucupandi examina majorem faciunt."——Again, afterwards, in the same chapter:—" Sunt qui per initia veris apiastrum,

"atque (ut ille vates ait) trita meliphylla, et cerinthae ignobile "gramen, aliasque colligant similes herbas, quibus id genus "animalium delectatur; et ita alvos perfricent, ut odor et "succus vasi inhaereat; quae deinde mundata exiguo melle re- "spergant, et per nemora non longè à fontibus disponant; "eaque cum repleta sunt examinibus, domum referant."

VER. 58—64.

"Hinc ubi jam *[1] emissum caveis ad sidera caeli
"Nare per aestatem liquidam suspexeris agmen,
"Obscuramque trahi vento mirabere nubem;
"Contemplator: aquas dulces et frondea semper
"Tecta petunt: huc tu jussos asperge sapores,
"Trita meliphylla, et cerinthae ignobile gramen:
"Tinnitusque cie, et Matris quate * cymbala circum."

*[1] "Quia examen fugiens, et sedem novam quaerens, se levat "sublimius," as Columella observes, lib. IX. c. xii. and as it is confirmed by common observation.

*[2] "Cum causâ Musarum esse dicuntur volucres, quod et "siquando displicatae sunt, cymbalis et plausibus numero redu- "cunt in locum unum." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 65, 66.

"Ipsae *[1] consident medicatis sedibus: ipsae
"Intima *[2] more suo sese in cunabula condent."

*[1] Varro directs thus, when the bees are observed to swarm:— "Cum a mellario id fecisse animadversae, jaciundo in eas pul- "verem, et circumtinniendo aere, perterritas quo voluerit per- "ducet. Non longe inde oblinunt erithace atque apiastro, "caeterisque rebus quibus delectantur. Ubi considerunt, "afferunt, alvum prope eisdem illiciis illitam intus: et prope "appositâ, fumo leni circumeundo cogunt eas intrare." Varr. lib. III. c. xvi.

*[3] Quaer. If this (more suo) does not insinuate an instruction; not to touch or force bees in their hiving, but to let them go on their own way?

VER. 67—72.

"Sin autem ad pugnam exierint (nam saepe duobus
"Regibus incessit magno discordia motu)
"Continuòque animus vulgi, et * trepidantia bello
"Corda licet longe praesciscere: namque morantes
"Martius ille *[2] aeris rauci canor increpat, et vox
"Auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum."

*[1] Columella says; "Fere ante triduum, quam eruptionem

" facturae sint, velut militaria signa moventium tumultus ac " murmur exoritur; ex quo, ut verissime dicit Virgilius,

" Corda licet," etc.——— Lib. IX. c. ix.

*[2] " Duces conficiunt quaedam ad vocem ut imitatione tubae: " tum id faciunt, cum inter se signa pacis et belli habeant." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 86—90.

" Hi motus animorum, atque haec certamina tanta,
" Pulveris exigui *[1] jactu compressa quiescent.
" Verum ubi ductores acie revocaveris ambos:
" *[2] Deterior qui visus; eum, ne prodigus obsit,
" Dede neci: melior vacuâ sine regnet in aulâ."

*[1] This is confirmed by Columella, who says; " Pugna quidem vel unius examinis inter se dissidentis, vel duorum discor- " dantium, facile compescitur: nam, ut idem Virgilius ait,

" Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescit;

" aut mulso, passove, aut alio quovis liquore simili resperso; " videlicet familiari dulcedine saevientium iras mitigante." Lib. IX. c. ix.

Varro directs the use of this stratagem, to make bees hive, when swarming (see ver. 65. note); but Virgil employs it better here: after having given a lofty description of their engagement, the quelling them in so easy a manner makes a pretty contrast.

*[2] Virgil afterwards describes the two sorts of bees;

" Nam duo sunt genera," etc.——

Varro directs, " Animadvertat mellarius, nè reguli plures existant; inutiles enim fiunt propter seditiones. Et, ut quidam " dicunt, tria genera cùm sint ducum in apibus, niger, ruber, " varius; ut Menecrates scribit, duo, niger et varius; expediat " mellario, cum duo sint eâdem alvo, interficere nigrum," etc. And again; " De reliquis apibus optima est parva, varia, " rotunda. Fur, qui vocatur ab aliis fucus, alter est lato " ventre." Lib. III. c. xvi.

VER. 95—99.

" Ut binae regum facies, ita corpora gentis:
" Namque aliae turpes horrent, * ceu pulvere ab alto
" Cum venit, et terram sicco spuit ore viator
" Aridus: elucent aliae, et fulgore coruscant,
" Ardentes auro, et paribus lita corpora guttis."

* Varro remarks this of bees looking " pulverulentae, et " horridae," when they are sick.—" Minus valentium signa, si " sunt pilosae et horridae, ut pulverulentae, nisi opificii eas " urget tempus. Tum enim propter laborem asperantur ac " macescunt." Lib. III. c. xvi.

Ver. 103—108.

" Cum incerta volant caeloque examina ludunt,
" Contemnuntque favos, et frigida tecta relinquunt,
" Instabiles animos ludo prohibebis inani.
" Nec magnus prohibere labor: tu regibus * alas
" Eripe: non illis quisquam cunctantibus altum
" Ire iter, aut castris audebit vellere signa."

* Columella, having mentioned the several sorts of bees described by Aristotle, adds; " Ejus auctoritatem sequens Virgi- " lius maximè probat parvulas, oblongas, leves, nitidas, ardentes " auro, et paribus lita corpora guttis." Lib. IX. c. iii. And again, chapter the tenth, which is entitled, " Quae sit forma regis " apum," he contents himself with quoting Virgil's description with very little variation.—And at the end of that chapter he adds; " Rex tamen et ipse spoliandus est alis, ubi saepius cum " examine suo conatur, eruptione factâ, profugere: nam velut " quâdam compede retinebimus erronem ducem detractis alis," etc. which confirms Virgil's precept:——" regibus alas Eripe."

Ver. 112—115.

" Ipse thymum * pinosque ferens de montibus altis,
" Tecta serat late circum, cui talia curae:
" Ipse labore manum duro terat, ipse feraces
" Figat humo plantas, et amicos irriget imbres."

* By joining these two together, Virgil plainly shews that he means wild thyme.—In his instructions what should be planted near the hives, and likewise in his description of the garden of the Senex Corycius, this plant is not mentioned, though frequently in other places; being the plant which bees chiefly feed on, and are most fond of.—" Ut cytisum aptissimum ad sanita- " tem apium, sic ad mellificium thymum. Propter quod Sicu- " lum mel fert palmam, quod ibi thymum bonum et frequens " est. Itaque quidam thymum contundunt in pilâ, et diluunt " in aquâ tepidâ; eo conspergunt omnia seminaria consita apium " causâ." Var. lib. III. c. xvi.

Ver. 120—124.

" Quôque modo potis gauderent intyba rivis,
" Et virides apio *[1] ripae, tortusque per herbam

"Cresceret in ventrem, cucumis: nec sera comantem
"Narcissum, aut flexi tacuissem vimen *[2] acanthi,
"Pallentesque hederas, et amantes litora myrtos."

*[1] Columella says; "Apium praecipuè aquâ laetatur, et ideo "secundum fontem commodissimè ponitur." Lib. II. c. iii.

*[2] Pliny says of the Acanthos, "Est topiaria et urbana herba, "elato longoque folio, crepidines marginum assurgentiumque "pulvinorum toros vestiens. Duo genera ejus sunt, aculeatum "et crispum, quod brevius; alterum, leve; quod aliqui "Paederota vocant, alii Melamphyllum." Lib. XXII. c. xxii.

Ver. 125—132.

—— "Sub Oebaliae memini me turribus altis,
"Qua niger humectat flaventia culta *[1] Galesus,
"Corycium vidisse senem: cui pauca *[2] relicti
"Jugera ruris erant; nec fertilis illa juvencis,
"Nec pecori opportuna seges, nec commoda Baccho.
"Hic rarum tamen in dumis olus, albaque circum
"Lilia verbenasque premens, vescumque papaver,
"Regum aequabat opes animis."———

*[1] Now called, Galese. Livy says, that this river is five miles from Tarento. "Hannibal Tarenti reliquit modicum "praesidium. Ipse profectus cum caeteris copiis ad Galesum "flumen (quinque millia ab urbe abest) posuit castra." Lib. XXV. c. xi. From Livy's whole account of Hannibal's taking Tarento, it is very manifest, that his camp was on the east side of the town, or towards Gallipoli; for as the entrance of the port, or Mare Piccolo, was commanded by the castle, which was still maintained against him, consequently he could enter Tarento by land no other way than by going quite round the Mare Piccolo, and his camp being within five miles of the town must of course be of the same side too: and therefore the Galesus must empty itself either into the Mare Piccolo on that side, or into the great sea between Tarento and Gallipoli.

This river, being in a country much inhabited by Grecians, took its name, as one may imagine from Γάλα, Lac, being a milky stream; in allusion to which Martial calls it, Albus Galesus:

——— "Albi quae superas oves Galesi."

But Virgil, considering the river in another view, as much shaded by trees on its banks, calls it Niger, by way of contrast to the etymology of its name.

The epithet Flaventia, given to Culta, adds a new beauty to the picture.

*[2] The "Spineta Galesi," mentioned by Propertius, are agreeable to Virgil's "relicti jugera ruris;" and his, "in dumis." It may perhaps be objected, that the "flaventia culta," mentioned by Virgil near the Galesus, and the description he gives of the garden of the Corycius senex, which he calls "relictum "rus," and "in dumis," and which he places likewise near the Galesus, don't very well agree: but whoever sees this country must be convinced of the justness of the Poet's description; and will find the same opposite variety in the face of the whole country, as in the Poet; viz. a mixture of wild rough ground, and very rich land. And Strabo, in his description of this country, gives us the like representation of it: Τῶν Ιαπυγίων χώρα παραδόξως ἐςὶν ἀςεία, &c. Lib. VI.

Relicti, not ploughed, or cultivated. Columella uses this word in the same sense, where he opposes Relictum to Tractatum: "Nullum deterius habetur terreni genus quàm quod est "siccum, pariter et densum et macrum; quia cum difficulter "tractetur, tum ne tractatum quidem gratiam refert, nec re-"lictum (i. e. non tractatum, non cultum) pratis vel pascuis "abunde sufficit." Lib. II. c. ii.

VER. 135—141.

—— "Cum tristis hiems etiam nunc frigore saxa
"Rumperet, et glacie cursus frenaret aquarum;
"Ille comam mollis jam tum *[1] tondebat acanthi,
"Aestatem increpitans seram, Zephyrosque morantes.
"*[2] Ergo apibus foetis idem atque examine multo
"Primus abundare, et spumantia cogere pressis
"Mella favis: illi *[3] tiliae, atque uberrima pinus."

*[1] The Romans used to trim their plants as we do now. Pliny speaks of the "topiario opere buxus tonsilis," lib. XVI. c. xvi. and of the "tonsilis cupressus," c. xxxiii.

*[2] Here the Poet shews that he had not wandered so far out of the way, but that he kept his subject still in view.

Horace celebrates the honey of Tarentum, particularly on the banks of Galesus:

"Ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
"Angulus ridet; ubi non Hymetto
"Mella decedunt."——— Lib. II. Od. vi.

*[3] Notwithstanding Virgil mentions the Tilia in a garden abounding with bees, Columella says, "Tiliae solae ex omnibus "sunt nocentes, Taxi repudiantur," lib. IX. c. iv. Again, Virgil says of his bees; "Pascuntur—pinguem tiliam," ver. 183.

VER. 144—148.

"Ille etiam seras in versum *[1] distulit ulmos,
"Eduramque pirum, et spinos jam pruna ferentes,
"Jamque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbras.
"Verum haec ipse equidem, spatiis exclusus iniquis,
"Praetereo, atque *[2] aliis post commemoranda relinquo."

*[1] This word Distulit expresses something more than bare transplanting, as it is commonly translated: It implies the distance which was to be observed in planting tall elms.

*[2] This verse gave occasion to Columella to write his tenth book in verse, though all the rest of his works were in prose; as he testifies himself, Praef. in lib. X. "Cultus hortorum sicut "institueram prosâ oratione prioribus subnecteretur exordiis, "nisi propositum meum expugnasset frequens postulatio tua, "Silvine; quae pervicit, ut poeticis numeris explerem Georgici "carminis omissas partes, quas tamen et ipse Virgilius signifi- "caverat posteris post se memoranda relinquere. Neque enim "aliter istud nobis fuerat audendum, quàm ex voluntate vatis "maximè venerandi. Cujus quasi numine instigante, aggressi "sumus tenuem admodum et penè viduatam corpore mate- "riam."——And in the beginning of his poem, "Hortorum "quoque te," etc., where observe he uses, "Spatiis exclusus "iniquis;" not Disclusus.

VER. 149—152.

"Nunc age, naturas apibus quas * Jupiter ipse
"Addidit, expediam: pro qua mercede, canoros
"Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae,
"Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro."

* Columella observes, that Virgil has only modestly hinted at one of the fables of the origin of bees. And having mentioned several fabulous traditions from other authors, particularly, "Jovis extitisse nutrices, easque pabula munere Dei "sortitas, quibus ipsae parvum educaverant alumnum," he adds: "Ista quamvis non dedeceant poetam, summatim tamen, "et uno tantummodo versiculo leviter attigit Virgilius, cum "sic ait:

"Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro."

Perhaps the reason why the Poet touched so slightly on this fable was, because he had a long fable to tell at the latter end of this book; he knew how, "servare modum."

VER. 160—162.

——— "Pars intra septa domorum
"*[1] Narcissi lacrymam, et lentum de cortice gluten,
"Prima favis ponunt fundamina."———

*[1] Columella, amongst the flowers proper for bees, mentions Gladiolum Narcissi; and for the forest trees he says: "Sylvestrium commodissime faciunt glandifera robora, quin etiam "terebinthus, nec dissimilis huic lentiscus, et odorata cedrus." Lib. IX. c. iv.—The "Lentum de cortice gluten" means gum, or the like, sweating out of trees.

Ver. 165—169.

"Sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti:
"Inque vicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli,
"Aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto
"Ignavum * fucos pecus à praesepibus arcent.
"Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella."

* Columella gives the following account of the Fucus: "Est "genus amplioris incrementi, simillimum apis, et, ut ait Vir-"gilius, ignavum pecus, et sine industriâ favis assidens. Nam "neque alimenta congerit, et ab aliis invecta consumit. Ve-"runtamen ad procreationem sobolis conferre aliquid hi fuci "videntur insidentes seminibus, quibus apes figurantur: itaque "ad fovendam et educandam novam prolem familiariùs admit-"tuntur. Exclusis deinde pullis, extra tecta proturbantur; "et, ut idem ait, à praesepibus arcent." Lib. IX. c. xv. See ver. 244.

Ver. 180—183.

—— "Fessae multâ referunt se nocte minores,
"Crura thymo plenae: pascuntur et *[1] arbuta passim,
"Et glaucas salices, casiamque crocumque rubentem,
"Et pinguem tiliam, et *[2] ferrugineos hyacinthos."

*[1] "Arbores sunt probatissimae, Amygdalae, et Persici, at-"que Pyri; denique pomiferarum pleraeque, ne singulis immo-"rer." Col. lib. IX. c. iv. In the same chapter afterwards: "Nec minus caelestis numinis Hyacinthus, Corycius, item, Si-"culusque bulbus croci deponitur; qui coloret, odoretque "mella."

*[2] Columella names—"Vel niveos, vel caeruleos hyacinthos, "Narcissique comas." In the same poem he calls hyacinthos, ferrugineos.

Ver. 190, 191.

—— "Ubi jam thalamis se composuere, siletur
"In noctem, fessosque sopor * suus occupat artus."

* Acquired by their own labour.

Ver. 197—202.

"Illum adeo placuisse apibus mirabere morem,
"Quod *[1] nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes

"In venerem solvunt, aut foetus nixibus edunt.
"Verùm ipsae è foliis natos et suavibus herbis
"Ore legunt: ipsae *[2] regem, parvosque Quirites
"Sufficiunt: aulasque et cerea regna refingunt."

*[1] Columella mentions this as a dispute among the naturalists: "Utrum examina, tanquam caetera videmus animalia, concu-"bitu sobolem procreent, an haeredem generis sui floribus eli-"gant; quod affirmat noster Maro." Lib. IX. c. vii.——Chapter the xivth, he remarks, that bees are so great enemies to venery, that he lays down this rule: "Maximê custodiendum "est curatori, qui apes nutrit, cum alvos tractare debebit, uti "pridie castus sit ab rebus venereis."

*[2] As the king is of a larger size than the rest of the bees, so it was believed among the antients that the cell where the royal race was formed was distinct from the rest, and of a peculiar make, which Virgil seems to allude to. Columella has the following passage on this head: "Cera, in quâ regii generis proles "animatur facilis conspectu est, quoniam fere in ipso fine cera-"rum velut papilla uberis apparet eminentior, et laxioris fistu-"lae quam sint reliqua foramina, quibus popularis notae pulli "detinentur," etc. Lib. IX. c. xi.

VER. 215—218.

"Ille operum custos, illum admirantur, et omnes
"Circumstant fremitu denso, stipantque frequentes,
"Et saepe * attollunt humeris, et corpora bello
"Objectant, pulchramque petunt per vulnera mortem."

* "Regem suum sequuntur quocunque it; et fessum sub-"levant, et si nequit volare, succollant; quòd eum servare "volunt." Var. lib. III. c. xvi. "Apes ut hominum civitates, "quod hîc est et rex, et imperium, et societas." ibid.

VER. 219—222.

"His quidam signis, atque haec exempla secuti
"Esse apibus partem * divinae mentis, et haustus
"Aethereos dixere: Deum namque ire per omnes
"Terrasque, tractusque maris, caelumque profundum."

* See Dr. Trapp's excellent dissertation on Virgil's philosophy, in his note on ver. 933 of his translation of the Aeneid, book VIth.

VER. 231—235.

"*[1] Bis gravidos cogunt foetus *[2], duo tempora messis,
"Täygete simul os terris ostendit honestum
"* Pleïas, et Oceani spretos pede reppulit amnes:

"Aut eadem sidus fugiens ubi Piscis aquosi,
"Tristior hibernas caelo descendit in undas."

*[1] See Sir G. Wheeler's account of the manner of ordering bees at mount Hymettus near Athens, with the time of taking the honey, p. 412.

*[2] "Eximendorum favorum primum putant esse tempus "Vergiliarum exortu: Secundum, aestate exactâ; antequam "totus exoriatur Arcturus: Tertium, post Vergiliarum occa- "sum. Et ita, si foecunda sit alvus, ut ne plus tertia pars exi- "matur mellis, reliquum hiemationi relinquatur: si verò "alvus non sit fertilis, ubi quid eximatur, exemptio cum est ma- "jor, neque universam, neque palam facere oportet, ne defici- "ant animum." Var. lib. III. c. xvi. Who tells us expressly, that the Vergiliarum exortus is VI idus Mai. Vergiliarum occasus, VI id. Novemb. lib. I. c. xxx. et xxxiv.—If Columella differs from Varro and Virgil in some respects as to the seasons of taking the honey from the hives, yet he says twice expressly; "Mox vere transacto sequitur mellis vindemia, propter quam "totius anni labor exercetur:" And presently afterwards he gives his reasons for difference of time: "Adapertas alvos in- "spicies, ut sive semipleni favi sint, differantur; sive jam liquore "completi, et superpositis ceris tanquam operculis obliti deme- "tantur." Lib. IX. c. xv. And again, in the same chapter: "Priore messe, dum adhuc rura pastionibus abundant, quinta "pars favorum; posteriore, cum jam metuitur hiems, tertia "relinquenda est. Atque hic tamen modus non est in omnibus "regionibus certus, quoniam pro multitudine florum et ubertate "pabuli apibus consulendum est."

* Virgil, in speaking of the rising of the Pleiades, speaks of them in the singular number; and that personally. It is probable, that on some of the antient globes this was a distinct constellation from Taurus; and might be sometimes represented by one of the Sisters only; that named by Virgil. Aratus and Eratosthenes both speak of it [the Pleiades] as distinct from Taurus; and the latter calls it Πλειὰς, and not Πλειάδες.

† The moderns fling the Pleiades into Taurus: in the antient spheres, it was a constellation by itself; and that probably of the Sister, who represented all the rest.

Aratus describes it as a distinct constellation near Perseus's left knee (ver. 254.), and speaks of Taurus so far before (ver. 167.), that there are eight constellations in the interval. Accordingly Taurus makes the 14th article in Eratosthenes, and the Pleiades the 23d.

Manilius indeed places them, with the Hyades, in Taurus (I. 371.): but this is not the only thing that would make one think his work less antient, than it is pretended to be.

See the Farnese globe in Polymetis, pl. xxxiv. Perhaps the hinder parts of Taurus were cut off in the old globes, on purpose to make room for this constellation. Eratosthenes, speaking of its place there, has these words: Ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τοῦ Ταύρου, τῆς καλουμένης Ῥάχεως, Πλειάς ἐστι. Λέγουσιν εἶναι τῶν τοῦ Ἄτλαντος θυγατέρων· διὸ καὶ Ἑπτάστερον καλεῖται· οὐχ᾽ ὁρῶνται δὲ αἱ ζ΄, ἀλλ᾽ αἱ ϛ΄. In art. Πλειάς.

Eratosthenes always speaks of her in the singular number; which, compared with this passage, may sufficiently confirm that it was the figure of one of the Sisters only, with the Seven Stars represented on it; whence it was called Ἑπτάστερον.

Ver. 241—250.

—— " *[1] Suffire thymo, cerasque recidere inanes
" Quis dubitet? nam saepe favos ignotus adedit
" Stellio, lucifugis congesta cubilia blattis:
" Immunisque *[2] sedens aliena ad pabula fucus,
" Aut asper *[3] crabro imparibus se immiscuit armis;
" Aut dirum tineae genus, aut invisae Minervae
" In foribus laxos suspendit aranea casses.
" Quo magis exhaustae fuerint; hoc *[4] acrius omnes
" Incumbent generis lapsi sarcire ruinas,
" Complebuntque foros, et floribus horrea texent."

*[1] Columella speaks of frequent fumigations proper for bees; and directs, " ut ab ortu Caniculae usque in Autumni aequi-" noctium decimo quoque die alvi aperiendae sint et fumigandae; " quod cum sit molestum examinibus, saluberrimum tamen esse " convenit." Lib. IX. c. xiv.

*[2] Sedens, properly used, being a lazy posture.

*[3] Hornet; called now in Italian, Calabrone.

*[4] Columella, speaking of the Fuci, says: " Ego Magoni " consentiens non in totum exterminari fucos oportere censeo, " ne apes inertiâ laborent: Quae, cum fuci aliquam partem " cibariorum absumunt, sarciendo damna fiunt agiliores." Lib. IX. c. xv.

Ver. 251—259.

" Si vero (quoniam *[1] casus apibus quoque nostros
" Vita tulit) tristi languebunt corpora morbo,
" Quod jam non dubiis poteris cognoscere signis:
" Continuò est *[2] aegris alius color: horrida vultum
" Deformat macies: tum corpora luce carentum
" Exportant tectis, et tristia funera ducunt:
" Aut illae pedibus connexae ad limina pendent,
" Aut intus clausis cunctantur in aedibus omnes:
" Ignavaeque fame, et contracto frigore pigrae."

*[1] As the Poet has carried on a comparison between bees and us through all parts of life almost, so he gives them our diseases too.

*[2] Columella, in his chapter De morbis apum, has copied Virgil, and given us almost a literal translation: "Ille morbus "maximè est conspicuus, qui horridas contractasque carpit, "cum frequenter aliae mortuarum corpora domiciliis suis "efferunt; aliae intra tecta, ut in publico luctu, moesto silentio "torpent. Id cum accidit arundineis infusi canalibus offeruntur "cibi, maxime decocti mellis, et cum Gallâ vel aridâ rosâ "detriti. Galbanum etiam, ut ejus odore medicentur, incendi "convenit. Passoque et defruto vetere fessas sustinere. "Optimè tamen facit amelli radix, cujus est frutex luteus, pur-"pureus flos: Ea cum vetere Amineo vino decocta exprimitur, "et ita liquatus ejus succus datur." Lib. IX. c. xiii.

VER. 271.

"Est etiam flos in pratis, cui nomen * amello
"Fecere agricolae."———

* Quaer. if the Aster Atticus? Columella calls it Frutex, lib. IX. c. iv. where, treating "de pastionibus apum," after having enumerated several plants, he says: "Mille praeterea "semina vel crudo cespite virentia, vel subacta sulco flores "amicissimos apibus creant, ut sunt in irriguo solo frutices "amelli," etc. Yet Frutex is used by him for very small plants; for in the next chapter he calls "Thymus frutex. "Amelli frutex luteus, purpureus flos." Col. lib. IX. c. 13.

VER. 275.

——— "* Violae sublucet purpura nigrae."

* Virgil is very exact and picturesque in this expression. He shews the same sort of exactness, Georg. II. ver. 13; where he takes notice of the different colours of the upper and under side of the same leaf.

——— "Glaucâ canentia fronde salicta."

Purpureus is used by the botanists for the violet colour: See Camden's Britannia; Plants in Hampshire.

VER. 281—285.

——— "Si quem proles subito defecerit omnis,
"Nec genus unde novae stirpis revocetur, habebit;
"Tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri
"Pandere; quoque modo caesis jam saepe juvencis
"* Insincerus apes tulerit cruor."———

* Varro says: " Ex bove putrefacto scio nasci dulcissimas " apes mellis matres, à quo eas Graeci *Βουγόνας* appellant." Lib. II. c. v.—And again: " Apes nascuntur partim ex apibus, " partim ex bubulo corpore putrefacto; itaque Archelaus in " epigrammate ait eas esse—*βοὸς φθιμένης πεποιημένα τέκνα.*" Lib. II. c. xvi.—Virgil, who does not easily give credit to such stories, lays the scene of his fable in the country of the Gipsies. ——Columella mentions Democritus and Mago to have asserted this generation: " Progenerari posse apes juvenco perempto " Democritus et Mago, nec minus Virgilius, prodiderunt." Lib. IX. c. xiv.

VER. 287—294.

—— " *[1] Quâ Pellaei gens fortunata Canopi
" Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum,
" Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis;
" Quaque *[2] pharetratae vicinia Persidis urget
" † Et viridem *[3] Aegyptum nigrâ foecundat arenâ,
" Et diversa *[4] ruens *[5] septem discurrit in ora
" Usque *[6] coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis;
" Omnis in hac certam regio jacit arte salutem."

*[1] Virgil very properly lays this scene in Egypt, which always was, and is still, famous for witchcraft.

He describes the upper and lower Egypt; the three first verses relate to the lower Egypt, or the Delta; the two following to the upper Egypt; the two last to the course of the river: where in seven verses he comprehends what is most remarkable concerning that country, and its river, the Septemfluus Nilus.

*[2] Claudian, in his Idyl. de Nilo, mentions, among other inhabitants bordering on that river, " Gens compositis circum- " vallata sagittis."

† This passage has long sounded wrong to me. There seems to me to be something in the construction not Virgilian, and something puzzled in the sense.

I find since, that Huet and Segrais had a dispute about it. Segrais thought it faulty, and corrupted: " Ego contra (says " Huet) integram esse asseverarem; planumque et intellectu " facile; si modo perspecta esset veterum de ortu Nili opinio; " qui in Indiâ oriri eum, et ex eâ in Aegyptum profluere, falsò " quidem, at pro certo et constanter arbitrati sunt." Huet. Com. p. 265.

The Florentine manuscript reads the passage differently, but does not take away the difficulty. It only transposes the two verses: " Et diversa," etc. is first in it; and " Et viridem," etc. second.

" Et viridem Aegyptum" is a repetition of what has been said before, ver. 287—289. It is suspicious, from its being

placed differently in the Florentine manuscript. If it was omitted, and the other line understood of the Ganges, would it not set all right? The Ganges has its seven streams as well as the Nile; and is therefore joined with it again, Aen. IX. 20.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον Αἰθιοπίᾳ ξυμβάλοιμεν (τοῦτι δὲ ἡγούμεθα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν (the Nile) πράττειν) καὶ οὔπω ξυμμέτρῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἰνδῶν ἄμφω, τοσαύτη συντεθεῖσα. Ποταμοὶ δὲ ἀμφοῖν ὅμοιοι, λογισαμένῳ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ τε καὶ Νείλου· περαινοῦσί τε γὰρ τὰς ἠπείρους ἐν ὥρᾳ ἔτους, ὁπότε ἡ γὴ ἔρα τούτου, etc. Philostr. de Vitâ Apol. lib. I. c. i.

*[3] Herodotus, lib. II., gives the following description of Egypt: "Quum regionem supergressus est Nilus, solae urbes "apparent, eatenus extantes, ut insulis Aegei maris fere assi- "miles esse videantur. Nam caetera Aegypti pelagus effici- "untur; ipsaeque urbes solae extant: Quae stationes navium "faciunt. Nec jam, cum hoc contingit, per alveum fluminis, "sed per medium campi navigatur," etc. p. 140. edit. H. Stephani, 1592.

In the same place, Herodotus, speaking of a particular custom used in Egypt, says: "Quod factum est, ex quo Aegyptus "fuit ditionis Persarum."

Presently after, speaking of a tradition that the city of Memphis was built by Menes, who turned the course of the Nile thither, he says: "Supra Memphim centum circitur "stadia meridiem versus, aggestâ humo ad anfractum fluminis "arefecisse pristinum alveum: ita flumen facto alveo per me- "dium montium fluere. Adeo nunc quoque sub Persis iste an- "fractus Nili qui coërcitus fluit, magnis praesidiis custoditur, "quotannis obseptus aggeribus; quos si refringens flumen velit "eâ parte redundare, omnis Memphis adibit periculum ne "aquis operiatur." Pag. 141.

Again, immediately after, he says: "Est Memphis in an- "gustiis Aegypti sita."

Again, enumerating the several tributes paid to Darius, he says: "Ab Aegypto et Lybibus Aegypto conterminis, et "Cyrenâ et Barcâ (in portione namque Aegypti istae ordi- "nantur) septingenta proveniebant talenta, praeter pecuniam "è piscario proventu lacus Maerios. Exceptâ hâc pecuniâ et "certo frumenti numero, septingenta talenta obveniebant. "Nam centum viginti millibus Persarum, qui in Albo muro "Memphitico stationem habent, et eorum auxiliariis admetiun- "tur illi frumentum." Pag. 226.

A Babylon was built by the Persians on a steep rock over the Nile, a little above the head of the Delta, as appears by Strabo; "Ulterius sursum naviganti est Babylon castellum na- "turâ munitum, à Babyloniis quibusdam conditum, qui huc "secedentes, eo in loco habitationem à regibus impetrarunt.

" Nunc in eâ collocata est una ex tribus legionibus quae Aegyp- " tum custodiunt." Lib. XVII.——Quaer. Whether, if part of Grand Cairo is not still called Babylon?

Strabo gives the following account of Aegypt.—Of the Lower, he says; " Nilo exundante, tota regio undis tegitur " praeter habitationes, quae aut nativis collibus aut aggeribus " factitiis impositae sunt, non pagi modo, sed etiam urbes me- " morabiles; quae eminus conspectae insularum speciem prae- " bent." Lib. XVII.—Of the Upper Aegypt, he says; " Si- " mili modo regio supra Delta irrigatur, nisi quod Nilus qua- " tuor millibus stadiorum unico alveo rectà delabitur, etc. " Denique, ut verbo dicam, fluvio irrigua est sola ea pars " Aegypti, quae jacet ad utramque Nili ripam, et raro usquam " ccc stadiorum continuam latitudinem habitabilem obtinet. " Orditur ab Aethiopiae montibus et in ipsius Delta verticem " desinit: itaque similis est fasciae (as the translator renders it) " in longum explicatae."

As to the dykes or dams made on the side of the Nile, Strabo tells us,——" Artificium autem, quod Nilo adhibetur, tanti est, quanti industria naturam vincens," etc.

*[4] Ruens is used by Virgil rather than Fluens on account of the several cataracts in the Nile. Pliny says of the Nile from its first rise; " Postremò inclusus montibus, nec alibi torren- " tior, vectus aquis properantibus ad locum Aethiopum, qui " Catadupi vocantur, novissimo cataracte inter occursantes sco- " pulos non fluere immenso fragore creditur, sed ruere," lib. V. c. ix. where he manifestly only explains more at large the same thought which Virgil expresses in one word.

*[5] As to the mouths of the Nile, Pliny says; " Undecim " Nili ostia reperiuntur, quatuor quae ipsi falsa ora appellant: " sed celeberrima septem;" which he names, lib. V. c. x.

And thus Strabo; " Nilus ab Aethiopiae finibus rectà fluit " ad septentrionem usque ad eum locum qui Delta appellatur, " ubi tanquam à vertice quodam scissus (ut Plato inquit) figu- " ram conficit triangulam. Latera trianguli alvei sunt duo " Nili utrinque ad mare descendentis, alter ad dextram Pelu- " sium usque, alter ad sinistram ad Canopum usque.——— " Duo itaque haec hostia Nili, alterum Pelusiacum vocatur, " alterum Canopicum: inter haec alia quinque ostia sunt, quae " quidem mentionem mereantur; multa alia tenuiora."

*[5] Νεῖλος μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτε φερόμενος. Procopius, lib. VI. περὶ Κτίσματος.

——— " Custos Nili crescentis in arva
" Memphis."——— Lucan, Lib. VIII. 477.

When Achoreus the Aegyptian priest is giving an account to

Julius Caesar of the course of the Nile, he says that after it has passed the cataracts:

> " Hinc, Abaton quam nostra vocat veneranda vetustas,
> " Terra potens, primos sentit percussa tumultus,
> " Et scopuli, placuit fluvii quos dicere venas,
> " Quod manifesta novi primum dant signa tumoris.
> " Hinc montes natura vagis circumdedit undis,
> " Qui Libyae, te, Nile, negent: quos inter in altâ
> " It convalle jacens jam molibus unda receptis."———
> Pharsal. lib. X. 323.

Quaer. Whether Molibus, in the last verse, does not refer to the moles or dams at the Egyptian Babylon, made there on purpose to raise the water according to pleasure?

VER. 317—320.

> " †[1] Pastor Aristaeus, fugens †[2] Peneïa Tempe,
> " Amissis, †[3] ut fama, apibus morboque fameque,
> " Tristis ad †[4] extremi sacrum caput astitit amnis
> " Multa querens; atque hac affatus †[5] voce parentem."

† Virgil seems here to use the name of grazier, or herdsman, in introducing the hero of his story; with the same sort of intent, that our dramatic writers formerly used to prefix the characters of their Dramatis Personae to their plays; and the character thus affixed to him is very well kept up through the whole story. He appeared at first with his hair all rough and discomposed (from ver. 417.)—Is in a violent passion (329, etc.)—Bawls loud enough to frighten his poor mother (357, see 333, sonitum—349, impulit——et 353, gemitu tanto)—— calls her names (as I fear, from 360); and hints at a scandalous aspersion on her, and even on himself (323);—bursts into a loud halloo, when he runs at Proteus (438); and snaps him up short, when he speaks to him (447 et 450.)

†[2] The epithet here is no idle one. The Romans seem to me to have used the word Tempe, as the Greeks did Παράδεισοι (in general) for any very pleasing place; or pleasure-grounds, as our gardeners of late call them. Thus our own author:

> ——— " At latis otia fundis,
> " Speluncae, vivique lacus; at frigida Tempe,
> " Mugitusque boum, mollesque sub arbore somni,
> " Non absunt."——— Georg. II. 471.

These Tempes, or happy retirements, are (I think) always represented as cool and shady: thus Seneca, or whoever wrote the Troas, calls them, Opaca: and Statius, in one place, Umbrosa; in another, Tenebrosa. When they don't speak of

pleasing places in general, they add the distinguishing name of the place: as Peneïa, here; Thessala, for the same in Horace, (and Aelian); "Heliconia, et Tecmessia Tempe," in Ovid, etc.

†[3] I am apt to think that the Romans looked on their old fables, and stories, in three different views; some as certain, some as doubtful, and some as false: and should also think that they made use of the expressions, "ut fama, ut perhibent, "ut fertur," and the like, for the middle sort of the three: though, by the way, there is more authority for Aristaeus's method of procuring bees again, than one should at first suppose. It was from this notion that the Greeks gave the epithet of Βυγενεῖς to bees; and one of their poets calls them,

———Βοὸς φθιμένης πεπολημένα τέκνα.

Democritus, Aelian, and Hesychius, affirm it roundly, among their writers; and Varro and Columella make no doubt about it, among the Latin: not to speak of an African author, quoted for the same opinion by the latter. Virgil, you know, says it was used with the greatest assurance of success by the most knowing people of Africa, and by some of the neighbouring nations more to the east of them.

†[3] Extremi signifies the extreme parts of any line, or thing; and, consequently, the beginning as well as the end of either. Here it is used evidently for the beginning or source of the river Peneus: and so Virgil uses it too in his first Georgic:

"Exercete, viri, tauros! serite hordea campis!
"Usque sub extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem."

that is, quite up to the borne (or beginning) of the Bruma; (about the middle of December); when the great rains, and the great holidays in consequence of them, would not allow them to work.

†[5] "Voce affari" (I should think) is no more common in Latin, than *he hears with ears* (which gave so much offence to poor parson Evans), is in English. It is said here, *Hâc voce*; "with this vociferation," or, "in the following clamorous manner:" for which, see the speech itself; and ver. 333, 349, 353, after.

VER. 333—335.

— "† Mater sonitum thalamo sub fluminis alti
"Sensit: eam circum Milesia vellera Nymphae
"Carpebant, hyali saturo fucata colore."

† For the different sorts of habitations for the water-deities, and several descriptions of them, see Pol. XIV. 63.

VER. 345—347.

" Inter quas curam Clymene * narrabat inanem
" Vulcani, Martisque dolos, et dulcia furta,
" Atque Chao densos Divûm numerabat amores."

* The Poet seems here to intimate, that when ladies meet, the common topic of discourse amongst them is love-intrigue: at least, that it was so in former days.

† Virgil mentions this, as the most noted among all the stories, told by the water-nymphs in Cyrene's grotto.

The water-nymphs, telling this kind of stories together, was so known a thing, that it was a subject even for statuary too:

" Illic adspicias scopulis haerere sorores;
" Et canere antiqui dulcia furta Jovis:
" Ut Semele est combustus, ut est deperditus Iö;
" Denique ut ad Trojae tecta volarit avis."
Propertius, lib. II. xxiii. ver. 20.

Leuconoë and her sisters divert themselves in the same manner whilst they are at work; and Leuconoë, in particular, tells this very story of Mars and Venus. Ovid often calls it " the most " trite story among the Gods." Met. IV. ver. 189.—Art. Am. II. ver. 563.—Amor. lib. I. El. ix. ver. 40.

Both Virgil and Propertius call the subjects of these stories, Dulcia: and the latter uses the word, Canere, for the manner of telling them; as the former says, " Carmine quo captae." The subjects in general agree with those most used in our novels and romances: and they were told, either in verse, or in an affected poetical kind of prose; for Carmen is used indifferently for the one or the other. Propertius might have an eye to this affected style, in those expressions of his relating to Jupiter's amours:

" Ut Semele est combustus, ut est deperditus Iö."

Apuleius makes use of this affected, lulling style, in his romance: as one may see, by his very proposition itself; which ought to be plain and easy, even in a poem. He begins thus: " At ego tibi, sermone isto Milesio, varias fabulas conseram; " auresque tuas benevolas lepido susurro permulceam: mox, si " papyrum Aegyptiam argutiâ Nilotici calami inscriptam non " spreveris inspicere, figuras fortunasque hominum in alias " imagines conversas, et in se rursum mutuo nexu refectas, ut " mireris, exordior." Exord. to his Asinus Aureus.

VER. 358—362.

" Duc, age, duc ad nos; fas illi limina Divûm
" Tangere, ait. Simul alta † jubet discedere late

" Flumina, quà juvenis gressus inferret: ad illum
" Curvata in montis faciem circumstetit unda;
" Accepitque sinu vasto, misitque sub amnem."

† Thus Ovid says, very strongly, of another river-god:

" Cedere jussit aquam; jussa recessit aqua."
Lib. III. El. vi. ver. 44.

This is represented sometimes in antiques; as particularly on a gem in Maffei's collection (Vol. II. pl. 34.), where you see Neptune beneath the water; which hangs suspended, in a sort of arch, over his head.

VER. 363—373.

" Jamque domum mirans genetricis et humida regna,
" Speluncisque *[1] lacus clausos, lucosque *[2] sonantes,
" Ibat; et ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum,
" Omnia sub magnâ labentia flumina terrâ
" Spectabat diversa locis; Phasimque, Lycumque *[3],
" Et caput, unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus;
" Unde pater Tiberinus, et unde Aniena fluenta,
" Saxosumque sonans Hypanis, Mysusque *[4] Caïcus;
" Et gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
" *[5] Eridanus, quo non alius * per pinguia culta
" In mare purpureum *[6] violentior influit amnis."

*[1] Virgil does not mean here rivers in general, but such only as run under ground and hide themselves part of their course.

*[2] Ruaeus's interpretation of this passage seems very forced: Virgil certainly means groves, echoing with falls of water; his nymphs being partly wood, and partly water-nymphs, as appears both by their names, and by the following verses:

——— " Nymphasque sorores,
" Centum quae sylvas, centum quae flumina servant."
Ver. 383.

*[3] Pliny, speaking of rivers which run partly under ground, and burst forth again, names first the Lycus in Asia. Nat. Hist. lib. II. c. 103.

— " Ubi terreno Lycus est epotus hiatu
" Existit procul hinc, alioque renascitur ore."
Ovid. Met. lib. XV. 273.

*[4] " Et Mysum capitisque sui ripaeque prioris
" Poenituisse ferunt, aliâ nunc ire, Caïcum."
Ovid, ibid. ver. 277.

*[5] "Padus è gremio Vesuli montis celsissimum in cacumen "elati, finibus Ligurum Vagiennorum visendo fonte profluens, "condensque sese cuniculo, et in Forovibiensium agro iterum "exoriens, nulli amnium claritate inferior. Graecis dictus "Eridanus." Pliny, lib. III. c. xvi.

* See Pol. p. 232.

*[6] This may be understood of the Po emptying itself by very strong currents into the sea. I was assured by boatmen, as I sailed before the mouths of the Po, that the water continues fresh three or four miles into the sea; and, I observed, as I sailed by the embouchures, that the water looked white and muddy (as the Po is), as far as I could see. But without restraining it to this sense, Virgil may be understood by Violentior to mean the damages done by the overflowing of the Po all along its course, of which he himself must frequently have been an eye-witness. Pliny, lib. III. c. xvi. speaking of the overflowing of the Po, says, that it is "Agris quàm navigiis torrentior;" meaning, I suppose, in his *outre* style, that it carries countries and fields with it rather than ships.

† I have, on another occasion, formerly (Essay on the Odyssey, Dial. V. p. 309.) taken notice of the beautiful contrast in the run of that couplet;

"Unde pater Tiberinus," etc.

the former line of which is one of the most soft-flowing verses, and the latter one of the roughest and most embarrassed, of any in the Georgics.

I have since been sometimes apt to imagine, that Virgil inserted the second of these lines, after the first writing of this passage, on purpose to make this contrast: because, if you leave out that line in the reading of it, the whole passage would be much more regular and exact than it is.

As it stands now, all the rivers seem to be named in disorder; but, omitting it, they will each follow the other, in an exact geographical order, from east to west: the first mentioned being the farthest east, in Armenia; the second, another Asiatic river, but nearer Greece; the third, in Greece; and the three others all in Italy, each lying farther and farther west, the Tiber, the Anio, and the Po.

Ver. 374.

"Postquam est in thalami pendentia † pumice tecta
"Perventum."———

† The roofs of the great apartments in the old Thermae (as appears in those of Caracalla at Rome at this day) were chiefly composed of Pumice-stone, for lightness.

They were used too for grottoes:——" Erosa saxa (pumices) " in aedificiis, quae Musea vocant, dependentia; ad imaginem " specus arte reddendam." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. XXXVI. c. 21. p. 503.

" Antra subit tophis laqueata et pumice vivo."
Ov. Fast. II. 313. (Herc.)

VER. 382, 383.

——— " Simul ipse precatur
" † Oceanumque patrem rerum, nymphasque sorores,
" Centum quae sylvas, centumque flumina servant."

† Virgil calls Oceanus, *Pater rerum*, " Lord of all the wa- " tery world;" whereas Juvenal calls Neptune only *Pater Aegei*, or, " Lord of all the inland seas." Sat. XIII. ver. 81.

VER. 425—429.

" Jam † rapidus torrens sitientes Sirius Indos
" Ardebat caelo, et medium sol igneus orbem
" Hauserat: arebant herbae, et *[1] cava flumina siccis
" *[2] Faucibus ad limum radii tepefacta coquebant:
" Cum Proteus consueta petens è fluctibus antra
" Ibat."———

† So Manilius:

" Subsequitur rapido contenta Canicula cursu."
I. ver. 386.

He is represented as running rapidly after the hare, in the Farnese globe; Pol. pl. xxiv. and with rays of fire on his head.

*[1] Shallow, low within the banks, almost dry.
*[2] In allusion to throats parched with thirst.

VER. 465, 466.

" † Te, dulcis conjux, te solo in litore secum,
" Te, veniente die, te decedente canebat."

† Mr. Benson, who studied versification so particularly, used to call this, " The softest couplet that ever was writ."

VER. 471, 472.

" At cantu commotae † Erebi de sedibus imis
" Umbrae ibant tenues, simulacraque luce carentum."

† The artist who designed the pictures for the famous manuscript Virgil in the Vatican, probably mistook the word Erebus here, if Erebus properly means the first region in Hades. He

represents Ixion on his wheel, as drawn out of Tartarus, quite to the inner bank of Styx, by the music of Orpheus.

VER. 511—515.

"Qualis populeâ moerens Philomela sub † umbra
"Amissos queritur foetus, quos durus arator
"Observans nido implumes detraxit; at illa
"Flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
"Integrat, et moestis late loca questibus implet."

† Mons. Huet makes a very indifferent objection to this passage. "Comment," says he, "peuvent se rencontrer ensemble "la nuit et l'ombre du peuplier?" Huetiana, § xlv.

——— "Tectae fronde queruntur aves." Ov. Ep. X.

VER. 563, 564.

"Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
"† Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis otî."

† There may be a propriety in this that is not generally remarked. Naples was a place of pleasure and indolence: and it was therefore (as some suppose; Addison's Travels, p. 128.) said to have been founded by Parthenope, one of the Sirens; who were Goddesses of Indolence and Pleasure.

——— "Improba Siren
"Desidia."——— Hor. lib. II. Sat. iii.

——— "Otiosa Neapolis." Id. Epod. v.

Statius agrees with Virgil, in the character of his own city Naples. Sylv. lib. III. Eleg. ult.

"Pax secura locis, et desidis otia vitae." Ver. 85. etc.

And Silius Italicus:

—— "Molles urbi ritus, atque hospita musis
"Otia."——— L. XII. 31.

See the other quotations in Mr. Addison, ibid.

This idea too makes the contrast here, between Augustus and Virgil, the stronger.

* Pausanias, speaking of Troezene, says; "Musarum templum est; et prope templum ara perantiqua visitur. Ad hanc "Musis immolant, et Somno. Somnum etenim ex Diis maxi- "me Musis charum esse dicunt."—Upon which place there is a note, observing very justly: "Per somnum non desidiam et

" torporem, sed honestum otium animique tranquillitatem in-
" telligi."

This is a pretty antithesis, and a compliment to his patrons. As different countries have a different manner of agriculture, and indeed the difference of climates requires different methods, therefore it was proper that Virgil should signify where he was when he wrote his Georgics: for we are thereby informed, that the rules he gives particularly respect the place where he wrote, and are such as were practised chiefly in that country. I say chiefly, because he sometimes launches out into other countries; and gives more general rules. It is certain, that most of Virgil's instructions, and the customs he describes, are still chiefly used in the kingdom of Naples.

REMARKS AND DISSERTATIONS

ON THE

AENEIDS.

AENEID THE FIRST†.

VER. 5—7.

"ARMA virumque cano, Trojae qui *[1] primus ab oris
"*[2] Italiam, fato profugus, Lavinaque venit
"Litora."———

† That Virgil wrote this excellent poem with a design of assisting and confirming Augustus's usurpation of the sole government of the Roman state, is proved at large in Polymetis, D. III. notes 6 to 13. One must use so hard a name for it, when one looks back upon his proscription; but one cannot use it without pain, when we look onward to the mildness of his administration, and his patronage of the most deserving in all works of genius or art.

*[1] It has been objected, that Antenor came *first* to Italy, that is, to Padua; but Padua was not formerly reckoned in Italy, but in Gaul. Dion Cassius expressly tells us, that even in Julius Caesar's time it was reckoned in Gaul: for, speaking of a prodigy, which happened there on the day of the battle of Pharsalia, he says: Ἐν Παταουΐῳ, τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας, τότε δὲ ἔτι Γαλατίας, ὄρνιθάς τινας, etc.—But supposing it had been properly in Italy, what would it signify? Aeneas was the first, who came to that part of Italy (Lavina litora) where the foundation was laid of the Roman future greatness, in which Antenor was not any ways concerned.

*[2] That is, to that part of Italy, where the foundation of the Roman empire was to be laid; and therefore Virgil adds "Lavinaque litora" to confine his meaning. In the third Aeneid, ver. 381, Virgil uses Italiam in the same confined sense, in the prophecy of Helenus:

> " Principio Italiam, quam tu jam rere propinquam,
> " Vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,
> " Longa procul longis via dividit invia terris:"

i. e. The whole body of Italy separates you from Italy; that is, that part of Italy, to which you are to go.

VER. 16—21.

> " Urbs antiqua fuit, Tyrii tenuere coloni,
> " Carthago, Italiam contra, Tiberinaque longe
> " Ostia; dives opum, studiisque asperrima belli:
> " Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
> " Posthabitâ coluisse Samo: hic illius † arma,
> " Hic currus fuit."———

† This is not spoken of the Roman, but the Carthaginian Juno. Thus Ovid of the latter:

> " Poeniteat quod non foveo Carthaginis arces,
> " Cum mea sint illo currus et arma loco."
>
> Fast. lib. VI. ver. 46.

One would think from this, compared with what Apuleius says in his prayer of Psyché, that the Carthaginians represented their Juno sometimes in a chariot drawn by lions: "Magni "Jovis germana et conjuga! Sive tu Sami, quae querulo partu "vagituque et alimoniâ tuâ gloriatur, tenes vetusta delubra! "Sive celsae Carthaginis, quae te virginem vectura leonis caelo "commeantem percolit, beatas sedes frequentas! Sive prope "ripas Inachi, qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, et reginam Dearum "memorat!" etc. As. Aur. lib. VI.

VER. 25, 26.

> " Hinc populum late regem belloque † superbum,
> " Venturum excidio Libyae: sic volvere Parcas."

† Superbus is used in Latin, and most of the languages derived from it, in a good sense, as well as a bad.—"Superbae "virtute et factis animae." Sil. Ital. X. 573.—"Superbi "Tarchontis domus." Id. VIII. 474. The house of the Great Tarchon, or Tarchon the Great.

VER. 40—49.

> " Cum Juno, aeternum servans sub pectore vulnus,
> " Haec secum: Mene incepto desistere victam,

" Nec posse Italiâ Teucrorum avertere regem?
" Quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem
" Argivûm, atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto,
" Unius ob noxam et furias Ajacis Oïlei?
" Ipsa, Jovis †[1] rapidum jaculata è nubibus ignem,
" Disjecitque rates, evertitque aequora ventis:
" †[2] Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammas
" Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto."

†[1] The most distinguished three among the twelve g Gods, as they were called, to wit, Jupiter, Minerva, and Juno, were allowed to thunder; and no others. How closely these three were supposed by some to be connected, see Pol. VI. 80, 81, et 82.

†[2] To this, Flac. Argonaut. I. 372.

The story is told more at large in Agamem. Act. III. Sc. i.

Virgil might have an eye here to some celebrated picture of this Ajax.—" (Apollodori est) Ajax fulmine incensus, qui Per-" gami spectatur hodie." Plin. lib. XXXV. c. ix. p. 249. ed. Elz.

Neptune pursued him still farther; which also was the subject of another noble picture, described by Philostratus in his Icones, II. 13.

Ver. 86—95.

——— " † Venti, velut agmine facto,
" Quà data porta, ruunt, et terras turbine perflant.
" Incubuere mari, totumque à sedibus imis
" Unà Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
" Africus: et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus.
" Insequitur clamorque virûm, stridorque rudentum.
" Eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque
" Teucrorum ex oculis: ponto nox incubat atra.
" Intonuere poli, et crebris micat ignibus aether:
" Praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem."

† This storm of Virgil's probably contributed towards setting all the Roman poets almost after him a storm-painting.——In Agamemnon, we have a puerile imitation of it. Lucan has another, carried to excess. Ovid (according to his manner) has several: and Flaccus one (Arg. I. 641.), which was certainly taken from this, unless both that and this were originally copied from Apollonius Rhodius.——Juvenal seems to ridicule their overcharging their pieces; where, speaking of a real storm, he says, it was as bad as a poetical one, Sat. XII. 24.

* The description of a storm was a common topic of the poets; and in which they frequently miscarried by too great

exaggerations. Juvenal, describing what his friend Catullus suffered in a storm, says:

——— "Omnia fiunt
"Talia, tam graviter, si quando Poëtica surgit
"Tempestas."——— Sat. XII. 22.

VER. 128—131.

"Interea magno misceri murmure pontum,
"Emissamque hiemem sensit Neptunus, et imis
"Stagna refusa vadis: graviter commotus, et alto
"Prospiciens, summâ † placidum caput extulit undâ."

† The aspect of Neptune, in all the good antiques I have seen of him, is majestic and serene. The lower sort of artists represent him sometimes with an angry and disturbed air; and one may observe the same difference in this particular between the greater and less poets, as there is between the bad and the good artists. Thus Ovid describes Neptune with a sullen look:

"Ter Neptunus aquis cum torvo brachia vultu
"Exserere ausus erat; ter non tulit aëris aestus."
Met. II. ver. 271.

whereas Virgil expressly tells us, that he has a mild face, even where he is representing him in a passion.

VER. 163—172.

"+ Est in secessu longo locus: insula portum
"Efficit objectu laterum; quibus omnis ab alto
"Frangitur, inque sinus scindit sese unda reductos.
"Hinc atque hinc vastae rupes, geminique minantur
"In caelum scopuli: quorum sub vertice latè
"Aequora tuta silent: tum sylvis scena coruscis
"Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbrâ.
"Fronte sub adversâ scopulis pendentibus antrum:
"Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo;
"Nympharum domus."———

+ There is a place in the kingdom of Tunis, under the promontory of Mercury (now called Cape Bon), a few miles east of Carthage, that exactly answers Virgil's description of the grotto, where Aeneas anchored on his first coming to Africa. This hollow goes in 20 or 30 fathoms under the rock; and those who took out the stone from it (for it seems to have been a quarry), left a sort of pillars, at proper distances, to support the weight at top from falling in. The arches, which these pillars help to form, lie open to the sea; there are little streams perpetually

draining from the rocks, and seats of stone formed within, probably for the use of those who worked in that quarry. There is a cliff on each side, and the brow of the mountain is overshaded with trees. From Dr. Shaw (then at Florence, in his return from the spot).

VER. 181—183.

" Tum Cererem corruptam undis, Cerealiaque arma
" Expediunt fessi rerum: frugesque receptas
" Et * torrere parant flammis, et frangere saxo."

* Ruaeus is mistaken in his observation on this passage. " Torrere flammis Cererem" signifies, to dry their corn, as the ancients used to do before they ground it.—See Georg. I. 267.

VER. 188—190.

" Navem in conspectu nullam, tres litore * cervos
" Prospicit errantes: hos tota armenta sequuntur
" A tergo, et longum per valles pascitur agmen."

* Sallust, in his Jugurthine war, giving an account of the first inhabitants of Africa, says, that they lived chiefly upon venison: " Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyci, asperi, " incultique; queis cibus erat caro ferina."

VER. 199—213.

" † Vina (*a*) bonus quae deinde cadis onerârat Acestes
" Litore Trinacrio, dederatque abeuntibus heros,
" Dividit; et dictis (*b*) moerentia pectora mulcet:
" O (*c*) socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum),
" O passi (*d*) graviora; dabit Deus (*e*) his quoque finem.
" Vos et Scyllaeam rabiem, penitusque sonantes
" Accêstis scopulos; vos et Cyclopea saxa
" Experti: (*f*) revocate animos, moestumque timorem
" Mittite: forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.
" Per (*g*) varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
" Tendimus in Latium: (*h*) sedes ubi fata quietas
" Ostendunt: illic fas regna (*i*) resurgere Trojae.
" Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis.
" Talia voce refert: (*k*) curisque ingentibus aeger,
" Spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem."

† This speech has a good deal of the gay air that is in Teucer's in Horace: It is a gaiety, mixed with concern. The occasions too were a good deal alike.——It is not easy to determine, which of the two might copy the other in this case: but from the subject, and turn of it, I should rather imagine that Horace's is the original. It is true, Virgil was the elder of the two;

but the difference between their ages is so small, that it is scarce to be taken into the question: for the people, who have writ their lives, make Virgil but four years older than Horace. On the other side, this speech of Aeneas is in Virgil's last work; and that of Teucer was probably among Horace's earlier pieces: for it seems likely that his Odes in general (especially his drinking and love Odes) were writ in the gayer part of his life; and his discourses and moral pieces, when he grew more advanced in years, and consequently more serious.——I shall subjoin Horace's speech at full length, with marks to shew where they agree: by which it will appear, that it is in no less than ten particulars, in the compass of so few lines: and yet the different characters of the Epic and Lyric Poet are preserved; and something of the different tempers of the writers is visible in each: for Horace's mirth is (of the two) the more gay and jovial; and Virgil's the more modest and sedate.

—— " Teucer Salamina patremque
" Cum fugeret (*k*); tamen (*a*) uda Lyaeo
" Tempora populeâ fertur vinxisse coronâ,
" Sic (*b*) tristes affatus amicos.
" Quò nos cumque feret melior Fortuna parente,
" Ibimus, ô (*c*) socii, comitesque.
" Nil (*e*) desperandum, Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro:
" Certus enim (*h*) promisit Apollo,
" (*g*) Ambiguam tellure novâ (*i*) Salamina futuram.
" O fortes, (*d*) pejoraque passi
" Mecum saepe viri, nunc (*a*) vino (*f*) pellite curas!
" Cras ingens iterabimus aequor.
Lib. I. Od. vii. 32.

VER. 246—252.

" Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
" Illyricos *[1] penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
" Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare * Timavi:
" Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
" It mare proruptum, et pelago premit arva sonanti.
" Hic tamen ille urbem *[2] Patavi sedesque locavit
" Teucrorum; et genti nomen dedit, armaque fixit
" Troïa."———

*[1] " Satis constat—Antenorem cum multitudine Henetûm " venisse in intimum maris Adriatici sinum: Euganeisque (qui " inter mare Alpesque incolebant) pulsis, Henetos Trojanosque " eas tenuisse terras: et in quem primùm egressi sunt locum, " Troja vocatur; pagoque inde Trojano nomen est: gens uni- " versa Veneti appellati." Liv. lib. I. § i.

"De Venetis duplex fertur sententia. Quidam enim eos "quoque Gallos faciunt, Gallorum Venetorum qui ad occasum "habitant Gentiles. Alii è bello Trojano cum Antenore eò "locorum evasisse tradunt Venetorum Paphlagonum quosdam." Strabo, lib. V.

* The river Timavus bursts out all at once from the bottom of a mountain, and divides itself into nine different streams before its runs on for the Adriatic sea. It is so large itself, that Virgil calls it a sea; and as it is at the head of the Gulf of Venice, the Italians now call it, La Madre del Mare: as if they thought all that sea was supplied from it.

*[2] Virgil very properly makes Antenor pass the Timavus; it was the boundary of the Veneti, as we are told by Strabo: "Quae trans Padum sunt Veneti incolunt et Histri, usque ad "Polam;" and more expressly, that the Timavus was the boundary between the Histri and Veneti; "Post Timavum "Histrorum est ora maritima usque ad Polam."—And in another place he says; "Diomedi in Venetis apud Timavum "honores et templum fuisse constitutum."——Livy describes very well the country of the Veneti, when he says; "Venetos "sinum circumcolere Maris Hadriatici." Lib. V.——"In "ipso autem intimo sinûs Adriatici, Timavum est Diomedis "templum memorabile. Habet enim portum, et elegantem "lucum, et fontes septem potabilis aquae statim in mare alto "et lato excidentes amne. Polybius dicit incolas locum hunc "Fontem et Matrem Maris appellare." Strabo, lib. V.

Ver. 267—278.

"Bellum ingens geret Italiâ, populosque feroces
"Contundet, moresque viris et moenia ponet:
"† Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas,
"Ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
"At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iülo
"Additur, (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno)
"† Triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbes
"Imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
"Transferet, et Longam multâ vi muniet Albam.
"Hic jam † tercentum totos regnabitur annos
"Gente sub Hectoreâ, donec regina sacerdos,
"Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem."

† This division of 3, 30, and 300, seems too regular for any history, but a fabulous one; as the Roman was, perhaps, even long after this.

Ver. 279—286.

"Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
"Romulus excipiet gentem, et Mavortia condet

" Moenia, Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.
" His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono:
" Imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera Juno,
" Quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
" Consilia in melius referet; mecumque fovebit
" Romanos rerum dominos, gentemque togatam."

† The statue of Juno Regina was brought from Veii to Rome; and fixed in a temple built to her on the Aventine Hill; about the year 359, U. C. Livy, lib. V. § xxi. etc. Plutarch, in Camillo, seems to think, that she favoured the Romans at least from that time. Others make it much later. " Bello Punico " secundo, ut ait Ennius, placata Juno coeperit favere Ro- " manis." Serv. in loc.

Ver. 292.

" * Julius, à magno demissum nomen Iülo.

* " Iülum eundem (scil. Aeneae et Creusae filium) Julia " gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat." Liv. lib. I.

Ver. 298—300.

" Claudentur Belli portae: Furor impius intus
" Saeva sedens super arma, et centum vinctus * ahenis
" Post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento."

† This seems to have been copied from some picture. Junius quotes Servius on this place for a picture of Bellum, and Furor, as here described; which hung in the entrance of Augustus's Forum, lib. II. c. viii. § x.

Virgil calls it Furor, or the party that opposed the Caesarean line, with the severity of one that had listed himself on the other side.

* Ruaeus in his note says; " Alludit, juxta Turnebum, ad " imaginem Belli, hoc habitu pictam ab Apelle, et ab Augusto " dedicatam in foro suo; ut est apud Plin. lib. XXXV. x. Sed " nondum hoc tempore Forum dedicatum erat." On the contrary, I should think, that this was a just observation of Turnebus, and that the objection made to it is idle; for notwithstanding that Augustus had not yet dedicated his Forum when Virgil wrote this, yet it was sufficient, if the picture was then in Rome: for its being placed afterwards in a solemn manner by Augustus in his Forum, was a plain proof of his value for the piece; and Virgil's allusion to it in this place was a compliment to Augustus's taste. The passage in Pliny is thus. Speaking of the famous pictures by Apelles renowned in several places, he adds: " Romae Castorem et Pollucem cum Victoriâ " et Alexandro Magno mirantur: item Belli imaginem, restrictis

"à tergo manibus; Alexandro in curru triumphante. Quas "utrasque tabulas Divus Augustus in Fori sui partibus cele-"berrimis dicaverat."

Ver. 318—321.

"Cui mater mediâ sese tulit obvia sylvâ,
"Virginis os habitumque gerens, et virginis arma
"Spartanae: vel qualis equos Threïssa fatigat
"Harpalyce, volucremque fugâ prevertitur † Hebrum."

† Mons. Huet thinks it should be Eurum: See his reasons, Huetiana, § 64. which seem to be approved of by Ruaeus.

Ver. 406—409.

"Dixit: et † avertens roseâ cervice refulsit,
"Ambrosiaeque comae divinum vertice odorem
"Spiravere: pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,
"Et vera incessu patuit Dea."

† Here are four signs of a divinity:

1. That beautiful Rubor in the Carnazione of Venus; expressed by Apelles, and described by Cicero (De Nat. Deor. lib. I. p. 16. Ed. Ald.)
2. A fine Smell proceeding from them.
3. The Vest of Dignity, down the feet. And,
4. A Motion, not like that of mortals.

There were several others:

——— "Divini signa decoris,
"Ardentesque notate oculos; qui spiritus illi;
"Qui voltus, vocisque sonus, vel gressus eunti."
Aen. V. 650.

It is to this *Odour of Sanctity*, perhaps, that Virgil refers in his IVth Georgic, ver. 415; and Ovid certainly in his Fasti;

——— "Tenues secessit in auras:
"Mansit odor; posses scire fuisse Deam."

Other signals:

"Os humerosque Deo similis: namque ipsa decoram
"Caesariem gnato genetrix, lumenque juventae
"Purpureum, et laetos oculis afflârat honores."
Aen. I. ver. 591.

—— "Ego, quae Divûm incedo regina."—— Ver. 46.

"Non ambulamus, sed incedimus," says Seneca.

Stukely says, the walking of the Gods is described by the antients as a swift, smooth, gliding motion; like the motions of a serpent. Heliodorus speaks of the wavy motions of the Gods, not by opening their feet, but with a certain aërial force. Sanchoniathon (in Eusebio, p. e. I. 7.) imagines that the serpent performs its motion by its spirit, and not by corporeal organs: and Pherecydes Syrus, where he says, the Gods have snakes' feet, means that their motion was smooth and sweeping, without the alternate use of legs: It was called, Incessus.—Stukely, Abury. p. 1. 57.

Virgil, describing the motion of a serpent, says, it was "Attactu nullo," Aen. VII. 354.

Ver. 450—453.

"Hic templum Junoni ingens Sidonia Dido
"Condebat, donis opulentum et numine Divae:
"Aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina †, nexaeque
"Aere trabes: foribus cardo stridebat ahenis."

† This was not uncommon in the temples of the antients. The doors to the Rotonda at Rome are covered with brass, and turn on brass hinges. The Portico was covered with the same formerly; and it rested on brass beams, fastened with vast nails of the same metal. There is one of these very nails, which I have seen in the Great Duke's gallery, so large that it weighs 46 pounds.

* "Prisci limina etiam ac valvas ex aere in templis facti-"tavere." Plin. lib. XXXIV. c. iii.——The passage above was certainly intended as a compliment to Agrippa; who, in his third Consulship, that is, in the time that Virgil was writing his Aeneis, finished the Pantheon, and beautified it in the manner as Virgil here describes the temple of Juno. The brass doors are still there. The "trabes nexae aere," Nardini assures us, were likewise remaining in his time: "I travi pur di bronzo "maëstrevolmente fatti ciascheduno con tre grosse tavole da "chiodi pur di bronzo connesse si son veduti a nostro tempo; "finche Urbano VIII. l'anno 1627. le levò, per farne all' altar "maggiore della chiesa di S. Pietro colonne, et a Castel S. "Angelo artiglerie, ponendove in loro luogo travi di legno." See Nardini, lib. VI. c. xvi.——Nardini likewise says; "Affer-"mano il Fulvio ed il Marliano haver veduto scoperto l'antico "piano avanti al tempio, da cui tanto si saliva quanto ora si "scende.

"Aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina."

Desgodetz, in his Edifices antiques de Rome, Planche 13, gives us an elevation of one of the brass doors of the Pantheon,

with its pilaster and corniche (or limen), which, as well as the doors and pilasters, was formerly covered with brass, as Desgodetz assures us, Planche 5. "La fermeture de la porte est "de bronze Corinthien appliqué sur du bois; les bases et les "chapiteaux des pilastres et la corniche de cette fermeture qui "etoient aussi de bronze ont été emportés, et il ne reste plus "que le bois qui étoit dessous; le treillis qui est par le haut "est de bronze fondu, de l'epaisseur d'un pouce."

Desgodetz supposes likewise very justly, that the Pediment of the Portico was faced with brass in bas-relief: "Dans le Timpan "de dessous on voit plusieurs trous, qui font conjecturer qu'il "y avoit un bas-relief de bronze attaché dans ces trous par des "crampons." And further he says: "Les inscriptions qui sont "dans la frize et dans les bandes de l'architrave sont gravées "dans le marbre, en sorte qu'il y a lieu de croire que dans ces "graveures il y avoit des lettres de bronze, parceque les gra-"veures sont percées fort avant en quelques endroits, comme "pour y sceller les crampons qui tenoient les lettres attachées." See Planche 3.

VER. 468, 469.

——— "Animum picturâ pascit inani,
"Multa gemens *; largoque humectat flumine vultum."

* We shall find (as Mr. Dryden observes, in his Dedication to the Aeneis), that the tears of Aeneas were always on a laudable occasion.

VER. 494—497.

"Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
"Penthesilea furens, mediisque in millibus ardet;
"Aurea subnectens * exertae cingula mammae
"Bellatrix, audetque viris concurrere virgo."

* Q. whether Exerta signifies cut off, as is commonly understood? or not rather, at liberty, being naked and exposed. Claudian, in his Paneg. de Consulatu Prob. et Olyb. describing Rome in the habit of an Amazon, says:

"Dextrum nuda latus, niveos exerta lacertos,
"Audacem retegit mammam."———

The Poet here fully represents the right side, particularly the breast, naked and exposed; and though he endeavours so much to vary his expressions, yet he says nothing directly of the breast being cut off. He applies the word Exerta to the Lacerti, which cannot be supposed to be cut off. He must therefore mean only, "having the right arm at liberty, and prepared for "action." Had the breast been really cut off, it is not probable that a poet, who was always so fond of expatiating, would have lost an opportunity of enlarging on such a topic.

† In all the figures of Amazons by the antient artists that I have ever observed (and I have observed a great number in statues, reliefs, gems, and medals), I never saw any one that had either breast cut off. There is one generally naked (or exerted), and the other is generally covered with part of the thin vest, that falls down toward their knees. Their legs are naked; and they are generally represented with a bow or ax, and the moony-shield; just as they are described by Virgil, and the other Roman poets:

" At medias inter caedes exultat Amazon,
" Unum exerta latus pugnae, pharetrata Camilla;
" Et nunc lenta manu surgens hastilia pensat,
" Nunc validam dextrâ rapit indefessa bipennem:
" Aureus ex humero sonat arcus et arma Dianae."
Aen. XI. 652.

——— " Nihil ipsa neque aurae,
" Nec sonitûs memor, aut venientis ab aethere teli:
" Hasta sub exertam donec perlata papillam
" Haesit."——— Aen. XI. 803.

——— " Amazonidum nudatis bellica mammis
" Turba."——— Prop. lib. III. El. xiv.

" Felix Hippolyte nudâ tulit arma papillâ."
Id. lib. IV. El. iii.

—— " Inde Lycen ferit ad confine papillae;
" Inde Thoën, quà pelta vacat."——— Flac. VI. 375.

VER. 534—537.

" Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt:
" Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae:
" Oenotrii * coluere viri; nunc fama, minores
" Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem."

* " Prisci Oenotriam vocârunt Italiam, quicquid terrae à " Siculo freto usque ad sinum Tarentinum et Posidoniatem ten- " dit; quod nomen deinde ita obtinuit, ut usque ad Alpium " radices proferretur.——Probabile est eos, qui primùm Itali " sunt appellati, ob res secundas nomen cum finitimis commu- " nicâsse; idque deinde ita auctum, tantisper dum ad Romanos " summa rerum pervenit." Strabo, lib. V. initio.

VER. 707—710.

" Quinquaginta intus *[1] famulae, quibus ordine *[2] longo
" Cura penum struere, et flammis adolere Penates:
" Centum aliae, totidemque pares aetate ministri,
" Qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant."

*[1] Housekeepers, and their attendants; it appearing by a discourse in A. Gellius on the word Penus, that it signified all sorts of provision laid up in store for a family either for eating or drinking. Lib. IV. c. i.

*[2] It is disputed in the same place whether this ought to be read *longo* to agree with Ordine, or *longam* to agree with Penum: "Meministi enim credo quaeri solitum quid Virgilius "dixerit? Penum instruere, vel longam, vel longo ordine. "Utrumque enim profectò scis legi solitum." Gellius, ibid.—If *longam* is the true reading, it means a great stock, or magazines to serve a great while: for we find by the same author, that the daily provisions for the table did not properly come under the word Penus. "Nam quae ad edendum bibendumque in "dies singulos prandii aut coenae causâ parantur, Penus non "sunt; sed ea potiùs quae hujusce generis, longae usionis gra-"tiâ, contrahuntur et reconduntur." Gellius, ibid.

VER. 744, 745.

——— "Citharâ † crinitus Iöpas
"Personat auratâ."———

† The bards of old were in the highest esteem. They sang to their golden harps, at the feasts of kings and princes; were usually drest (among the Asiatics at least) in a long embroidered robe, which reached the ground; and had their hair finely dressed out, and flowing all down their shoulders. This latter therefore was one of their known characteristics; and Virgil, by his giving the epithet of Crinitus to Iöpas on this occasion, meant (in his usual short way) to intimate all the finery and dignity of his appearance.—Had the author of a piece published a few years ago, (under a name that would make every body fond of reading it) been aware of this, methinks he could never have called Crinitus here, "an epithet so wholly foreign "to the purpose." See Dis. on antient and modern learning, by Mr. Addison, p. 6.

VER. 760.

——— "Te jam * septima portat
"Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus aestas."

* The beginning of the seventh year, or rather summer.—This appears from Aen. III. ver. 8.

——— "Vix prima inceperat aestas,
"Et pater Anchises dare fatis vela jubebat."

AENEID THE SECOND.

VER. 8, 9.

——— " Et jam * nox humida caelo
" Praecipitat, suadentque cadentia sidera somnos."

* If the interpretation of Ruaeus is right, that Aeneas does not begin his story till towards break of day (die proximè imminente), then, as it is long, and takes up the two following books, it could not possibly be finished till broad day; which is utterly inconsistent with the beginning of the IVth book.

VER. 21—24.

" Est in conspectu * Tenedos, notissima famâ
" Insula; dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant:
" Nunc tantum sinus, et statio malefida carinis.
" Huc se profecti deserto in littore condunt."

* " The island Tenedos is about four or five miles from the shore of Asia; is about twenty miles in circuit; and hath a town and castle, which lieth on the north end of it, regarding the promontory of Sigeum towards the east. Sir G. Wheeler, p. 66.

VER. 76—80.

" † Ille haec, depositâ tandem formidine, fatur:
" Cuncta equidem tibi, Rex, fuerint quaecunque, fatebor
" Vera, inquit; neque me Argolicâ de gente negabo;
" Hoc primum; nec, si miserum fortuna * Sinonem
" Finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget."

† This verse is omitted in the old Florentine manuscript; and has been added (with a different ink, and another hand) at the bottom of the page. Whoever added it seems to have overlooked the *Inquit*, in the very next line but one.

* Sinon was no inconsiderable person; a relation of the ingenious Palamedes, ver. 86; and so ingenious himself as to have been the inventor of the watch-tower, built during the time of the siege of Troy. " Specularum significationem Trojano bello " invenit Sinon." Plin. lib. VII. c. lvi.

VER. 152—157.

—— " Ille dolis instructus et arte Pelasgâ
" Sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas.

" Vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile * vestrum
" Testor numen, ait: vos arae ensesque nefandi,
" Quos fugi; vittaeque Deûm, quas hostia gessi:
" Fas mihi Graïorum sacrata resolvere jura."

* Markland reads here, Vestae; see his notes on Statius, Sylv. I. ver. 35; and concludes his note with this just observation: " Vide autem quàm artificiosè Sinonem inducit Virgilius " ingredientem orationem ejus à mentione et invocatione Ves- " tae; ut scilicet gratiam Trojanorum captaret: Vesta enim ab " iis maximè colebatur."

VER. 201, 202.

" * Laocoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos,
" Solemnes taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras. κ. τ. λ.

* This story of Laocoon, so elegantly described by Virgil, alludes to a famous Grecian statue, which was esteemed one of the greatest master-pieces of the antient sculpture; and which was undoubtedly well known to the Romans in Virgil's time, if not already brought thither. I know it is disputed by the virtuosi whether the statue was copied from Virgil, or Virgil's description taken from the statue. The latter is pretty manifest: For Pliny tells us expressly, lib. XXXVI. c. v. that this group was made by three eminent artists together, viz. Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus: And, lib. XXXIV. c. viii. though he does not tell the time when they all lived, yet he tells us that Athenodorus was one of the scholars of Polycletus, who flourished about the 87th Olympiad, or near the 320th year of Rome, between the times of Phidias and Praxiteles: therefore we must suppose that this group was made near 400 years before Virgil wrote this. Pliny likewise in the same chapter tells us, that after the 120th Olympiad, this art declined: and though it revived again about the 155th, yet it never arrived to its former glory. And therefore, as this group was celebrated as one of the best pieces that ever was made, we may suppose reasonably that it was the work of the age when this art was in its greatest perfection. That this is the same statue, which is still preserved at the Belvidere in the Vatican, cannot be doubted; the whole group being of one piece of marble as Pliny describes it, and being found in or near the place where he says it stood in his time. Speaking of the works of the most famous statuaries, he says: " Multorum " obscurior fama est, quorundam claritati in operibus eximiis ob- " stante numero artificum; quoniam nec unus occupat gloriam, " nec plures pariter nuncupari possunt. Sicut in Laocoonte, qui " est in Titi Imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturae et sta- " turaiae artis praeferendum. Ex uno lapide eum et liberos " draconumque mirabiles nexus de consilii sententiâ fecere

" summi artifices, Agesaner et Polydorus et Athenodorus Rho-" dii." Lib. XXXVI. c. v.—Donatus, speaking of the baths of Titus, says: " In vineis locis statuam Laocoontis laudatam " à Plinio, conservatamque in hortis Vaticani Pontificiis, in-" ventam viderunt tempora vix inchoata prioris seculi." Lib. III. c. x.——And Nardini confirms the same: " La statua bel-" lissima del Laocoonte con duoi figli attorniati da serpi retro-" vata nel tempo di Leone X. presso a S. Lucia in Selce, e le " Sette Sale, e trasportata in Belvedere, dove hoggi stà." Lib. III. c. x.——Though it cannot well be doubted but Virgil had the famous statue of Laocoon in view when he wrote this story, yet it is observed that he has varied from it in many particulars; and that, perhaps, for the following reason. In the statue the father and sons are represented entangled by the serpents in one group; which the statuaries were under a necessity of doing, because they could not represent succession of actions in the same stone: but the Poet not being under the same restriction, relates the story as it may more naturally be supposed to have happened. He first makes the serpents seize the children, each of them one; and when they had despatched them, then they seize the father coming to their assistance. A less judicious author would probably have endeavoured to have followed the statue as servilely as possible; but Virgil chose rather to copy the most masterly strokes of it; the serpents twisting themselves about and entangling their bodies; Laocoon " tendentem manibus divellere nodos," and " clamores hor-" rendos ad sidera tollentem:" and where it was proper, he varies from the original.

† As statuary is confined to one single point of time, in the famous group of the Laocoon, in the Vatican, you see the serpents killing him and his two sons together. Poetry has a larger scope; and can describe each step of any action distinctly. Virgil therefore, in his description of the same thing, gives the whole course of it, and every part of it successively. ——You first see the serpents on the sea; then on the shore; then killing the sons of Laocoon; and lastly killing Laocoon himself. This must make that figure and his description differ in most particulars; and indeed there is scarce any thing in which they agree, except the attitude of Laocoon himself, and the air of his head: in which Virgil seems to have copied that statue very strongly.

VER. 264.

——— " Primusque Machaon,
" Et Menelaus; et, ipse doli fabricator, * Epeus."

* That there was a tradition in Italy, that Epeus was the builder of the Trojan horse, is manifest from Justin: " Meta-

"pontini in templo Minervae ferramenta quibus Epeus, à quo "conditi sunt, Equum Trojanum fabricavit, ostentant." Lib. XX. c. ii.——Pliny seems to speak of this horse, as if it was the same with the battering-ram: "Equum, qui nunc Aries "appellatur, in muralibus machinis Epeum ad Trojam inve-"nisse dicunt." Nat. Hist. VII. 56.

VER. 293—297.

"* Sacra, suosque tibi commendat Troja Penates:
"Hos cape fatorum comites: his moenia quaere,
"Magna pererrato statues quae denique ponto.
"Sic ait, et manibus vittas, Vestamque potentem,
"Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem."

* Dryden, in his dedication to the Aeneis, remarks very judiciously, that a compliment is here paid to Augustus; and that Virgil plainly touches at the office of high-priesthood with which Augustus was invested; and which made his person more sacred and inviolable, than even the Tribunitial power: and that it was not for nothing that this most judicious Poet made that office vacant by the death of Pantheus, ver. 429, for his hero to succeed in it.

VER. 351.

"Excessere omnes adytis * arisque relictis
"Dii, quibus imperium hoc steterat."———

* This was a general superstitious thought among the old Heathens.—See Curtius, lib. IV. of Apollo's preparing to quit the Tyrians.—See also Macrob. Sat. lib. III. c. ix.—Plin. lib. XXVIII. c. ii.—Liv. lib. V.

VER. 396—401.

"Vadimus immixti Danais, haud numine nostro:
"Multaque per caecam congressi praelia noctem
"Conserimus, multos Danaûm demittimus Orco.
"Diffugiunt alii ad naves, et littora cursu
"Fida petunt: pars ingentem formidine turpi
"Scandunt * rursus equum, et notâ conduntur in alvo."

* This is more outré than any thing I know of in all the Aeneid. It may be a pretty thought, but it would perhaps better become Lucan than the gravity of Virgil. After the discovery of the trick, the horse was a very improper place to hide in; but indeed Virgil represents them seized, "formidine "turpi;" and in such a case people seldom know what they do.

VER. 416—418.

"Adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti

"Confligunt, Zephyrusque Notusque, et laetus Eois
"Eurus † equis."——

† The author of Polymetis suspects, from this passage, that Eurus might be sometimes represented by the antient artists, either on horseback, or perhaps in a chariot whirling through the air: The Roman poets, says he, sometimes using the expression *in equis*, to signify a person's being in a chariot; and so may possibly use Equitare for the same. Flaccus uses an expression of another wind (the north), which seems to imply his being in a chariot:

—— "Fundunt se carcere laeti
"Thraces equi; Zephyrusque."—— Arg. I. ver. 611.

See Pol. XIII. 10.——Horace uses Equitavit of Eurus:

"Dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas,
"Ceu flamma per taedas, vel Eurus
"Per Siculas equitavit undas."
Lib. IV. Od. iv. ver. 44.

VER. 431—436.

"Iliaci cineres, et flamma extrema meorum,
"Testor, in occasu vestro, nec tela, nec ullas
"Vitavisse vices Danaûm; et, si fata fuissent
"Ut caderem, meruisse manu. Divellimur inde,
"Iphitus et Pelias mecum: quorum Iphitus aevo
"Jam gravior *, Pelias et vulnere tardus Ulyssei."

* These circumstances are added very properly. That Dido might not suspect that Aeneas deserted his friends, who were engaged in the same party with him, and ran away, he says:

—— "Si fata fuissent
"Ut caderem, meruisse manu."——

And to prove that it was purely Fate or Providence which protected him, he adds, that the two friends preserved with him were Iphitus and Pelias; the one very old, the other lame; persons very unlikely to escape by flight. We must farther observe, that Divellimur expresses violence, and by it Aeneas declares that, after the loss of so many friends, it was with difficulty and reluctance that he was obliged to retire. "Divellimur inde."

VER. 567.

"† Jamque adeo super unus eram," etc.

† All this passage (from "Jamque adeo super unus eram," to "furiatâ mente ferebar," ver. 588.) is omitted in the Floren-

tine manuscript; and no manner of notice taken of it in the margin.

* There is a little treatise written by one Franciscus Campanus in the year 1536, and printed at Milan 1540, relating to the 22 disputed verses here, " Jamque adeo super unus eram," etc. where Aeneas tells Dido, that whilst Troy was in flames he discovered Helen at the altar of Vesta; and was so far enraged against her, that in his passion he had thoughts of killing her, had he not been prevented by Venus. These verses are left out of many manuscripts and editions of Virgil; and it is pretended they were struck out by Tucca and Varus, as being inconsistent with the account which Deïphobus gives of Helen in the VIth book.

——— " Me fata mea et scelus exitiale Lacaenae
" His mersere malis," etc.————

This author shews plainly, that by leaving out those 22 verses, the sense and connexion of that part of the poem must utterly be destroyed; and thinks it would be more pardonable to strike out the speech of Deïphobus in the VIth, than those verses in the IId, supposing it necessary to strike out either: but he apprehends no necessity of doing either; both passages, as he thinks, being reconcileable.

The account Aeneas gives of Helen being real according to the situation in which he says he himself saw her; and the account Deïphobus gives of her only conjectural, and what he had good reason to suspect, but the truth of which he could not be sure of, being, as he himself declares, fast asleep when the enemy broke in upon him.

Ver. 681—693.

—— " Manus inter moestorumque ora parentum,
" Ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iüli
" Fundere lumen apex †[1], tactuque innoxia molles,
" Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci.
" Nos pavidi trepidare metu, crinemque flagrantem
" Excutere, et sanctos restinguere fontibus ignes.
" At pater Anchises oculos ad sidera laetus
" Extulit, et caelo †[2] palmas cum voce tetendit.
" Jupiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
" Aspice nos, hoc tantum: et, si pietate meremur,
" Da deinde auxilium, pater, atque haec omina firma.
" Vix ea fatus erat senior, subitoque fragore
" Intonuit * laevum."———

†[1] This is not a poetical ornament, any more than the account of the light seen on Lavinia's hair (Aen. VII. 71—101. posth.)

—It was looked on as a great omen, and even to portend the regal dignity to those on whom it appeared. Livy records a like phaenomenon happening to Servius Tullius, while yet a boy in Tarquinius Priscus's family, (lib. I. § 39. See ib. § 41.) —" Hominum quoque capita vespertinis horis magno praesagio " circumfulgent:" Pliny, of the lambent lights called Castor and Pollux, lib. II. c. xxxvi.

†[2] This was an attitude used by the Romans of old when they prayed, and is said to be used among the Africans to this day. Virgil repeats it in other places.

—— " Duplices tendens ad sidera palmas,
" Talia voce refert."——— Aen. I. 97.

" Ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra;
" Lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas."
Ib. II. 406. of Cassandra.

—— " Amens animi, et rumore accensus amaro
" Dicitur ante aras, media inter numina Divûm,
" Multa Jovem manibus supplex orasse supinis."
Ib. IV. 205. of Iarbas.

And so Horace, to his servant in the country:

" Caelo supinas si tuleris manus,
" Nascente lunâ, rustica Phidile," etc.
Lib. III. Od. xxiii.

* Thunder on the left hand was a fortunate and confirming omen. When the prophet Amphiaraus in Statius, by order of Adrastus king of Argos, consults the heavens, whether the people of Argos ought to make war with Thebes in favour of Polynices against his brother Eteocles, or not: He prays to Jupiter, that, if they were to march on, and attack Thebes, he would thunder on the left; but if they ought to stay at home, he would then give a signal to the right.

" Si datur, et duris sedet haec sententia Parcis
" Solvere Echionias Lernaeâ cuspide portas;
" Signa feras, laevusque tones.———
" Si prohibes, hic necte moras; dextrisque profundum
" Alitibus praetexe diem."———
Statius, Theb. lib. III. 491.

Ver. 707—710.

—— " Age, chare pater, cervici imponere nostrae:
" Ipse * subibo humeris: nec me labor iste gravabit.
" Quo res cunque cadent, unum et commune periclum,
" Una salus ambobus erit."———

* "Qualis Aeneas patrem gestans pingitur, reverendus et hostibus." Appian. lib. IV. 986.——† There is a figure of this in Polymetis, p. 64.

VER. 745, 746.

"* Quem non incusavi amens hominumque Deorumque?
"Aut quid in eversâ vidi crudelius urbe?"

* Mr. Dryden, very justly, takes notice of the address of Virgil, in speaking of the loss of Creüsa here. "It was not for "nothing," says he, "that this passage was related with all "these tender circumstances: Aeneas told it, Dido heard it." Dedication to his Transl. of Virgil.

AENEID THE THIRD.

VER. 4—7.

"DIVERSA exilia, et *[1] desertas quaerere terras,
"Auguriis agimur Divûm: classemque sub ipsa
"Antandro, et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae:
"*[2] Incerti quo fata ferant; ubi sistere detur."

*[1] Father Catrou has here altered the text, and reads Diversas; and thinks the repetition a beauty: but certainly there is no reason for the alteration; Desertae, or Vacuae terrae, were the most proper to plant colonies in, and exiles to look for: and one may observe that Virgil uses the same word Deserta (ver. 112. "Desertaque litore Crete") where it is particularly urged as an inducement to go and settle in Crete.

*[2] Ruaeus has the following note on this passage: "Tamen "Creüsa monuerat, Aen. II. 781. in Hesperiâ ad ripas Tybris "sedes esse futuras. Ergo, vel non credidit inani Creüsae si- "mulacro; vel illud Creüsae vaticinium ex iis est locis, quos "Virgilius emendare debuisset."——Virgil, a few verses after (viz. 186.), gives a good reason why Aeneas did not entirely depend upon what was told him by Creüsa; when he makes Anchises, on the like occasion, (viz.) on reflecting on Cassandra's prophecies, cry out,

"Quis ad Hesperiae venturos littora Teucros
"Crederet?"———

See other reasons given by Father Catrou, in his remarks on this place: to which one may add, that this critic does not consider

that, among other things, Creüsa foretold "longa exilia;" and therefore, supposing Aeneas gave entire credit to the vision, he could not expect to find an immediate settlement in Italy on his first landing, without taking proper measures to effect it. And if so, in what country could he hope to find the first reception and assistance sooner, than Thrace? "Hospitium antiquum "Trojae."

VER. 11—18.

——— "*[1] Feror exul in altum,
"Cum sociis, natoque, Penatibus, et magnis Dîs.
"Terra procul vastis colitur Mavortia campis,
"Thraces arant, acri quondam regnata Lycurgo:
"Hospitium antiquum Trojae, sociique Penates,
"Dum fortuna fuit. *[1] Feror huc, et litore curvo
"*[2] Moenia prima loco, fatis ingressus *[3] iniquis;
"Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo."

*[1] Feror, twice repeated here. Observe the expression. He seems to be forced in by fate, not to go by choice: yet "Hos-"pitium antiquum" was reason sufficient for going thither.

*[2] The city of Aenos; where Caepio, Cato's brother, died, and was there buried by him; and a stately monument of Thasian Marble erected over him: Plutarch, life of Cato the younger. It is now called Eno. See Ruaeus.

*[3] The Poet seems here, by a spirit of prophecy, to foretel that this country would be fatal to the descendants of Aeneas; as Constantinople afterwards proved.

VER. 22—29.

"† Forte fuit juxtà tumulus, quo cornea summo
"Virgulta, et densis hastilibus horrida myrtus.
"Accessi, viridemque ab humo convellere sylvam
"Conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras,
"Horrendum et dictu video miserabile monstrum.
"Nam, quae prima solo ruptis radicibus arbos
"Vellitur, huic atro liquuntur sanguine guttae,
"Et terram tabo maculant," etc.———

† The only way to judge truly of the antients, in points that are purely antient, is to imagine ourselves in their places; in the same circumstances, and with the same sort of ideas they had. As we can very seldom do this, we are very often mistaken about them.

I can't say that I approve this passage; but is not the fault in myself? Would it have shocked me, had I been born a Roman, in the time of Augustus, and had read it soon after the Aeneid was published?

They stocked every thing with Divinities and Intelligences: there was not a river, a lake, a grot, or a grove, without them. These were not poetical ornaments; but the real object of the belief and religion of the common people; and the professed religion of the great.

When they believed every grove and every tuft of trees to have some particular divinities belonging to it; it was but one step farther to entertain the notion of Intelligences vitally annexed to a tree, which was their received notion of the Hamadryades. (See Bayle, Art. Hamad.)

Those stories of Daphne, Phaëton's sisters, and the like, were known stories too; and tolerably well received by the most believing part of mankind, the vulgar.

There is even an Embassador in Livy, that treats a consecrated tree in general as an intelligent being, and as a Deity. "Tum ex legatis unus abiens; Et haec (inquit) sacrata quer-"cus, et quicquid Deorum est, audiant foedus à vobis ruptum." Lib. III. § xxv.

Ver. 73—77.

" Sacra mari colitur medio gratissima tellus
" Nereïdum matri et Neptuno Aegeo:
" Quam pius Arcetinens oras et littora circum
" Errantem, * Mycone celsâ Gyaroque revinxit;
" Immotamque coli dedit, et contemnere ventos."

* Delos being reputed the birth-place of Apollo, the circumjacent islands (therefore called the Cyclades), to make it the more famous, sent thither by public order priests, sacrifices, etc. instituting there public solemnities: Sir G. Wheeler, p. 53. He was on the spot: and tells us, that the island is but small, not exceeding five or six miles about; that it hath the island Rheucia westward, from which it is parted by a channel of about half a mile over; the southern parts of Mycone east; and the channel between Mycone and Tino to the north. It is now utterly uninhabited; but the ruins of its former glory still remaining, of which Sir George gives a description, with a draught of the island. He says, the island lieth low in respect of the circumjacent isles, which are beyond proportion higher, p. 58.

By Mycone and Gyarus, the Poet probably means all the Cyclades, though he names only two instead of the whole. He adds, Celsâ, with respect to what is observed above by Sir George Wheeler.—Mycone is not so far distant from Delos, as Ferrarius in his Dictionary assureth; it being but four miles at the most. It may have 25 or 30 miles in circumference. Sir G. W. p. 62.

Statius, in describing a storm in the Aegean sea, says:

——— "Dubiae motis radicibus obstant
"Cyclades: ipsa tuâ Mycone Gyaroque revelli,
"Dele, times; magnique fidem testaris alumni."
Thebaid. lib. III. ver. 438.

VER. 94—98.

"* Dardanidae duri, quae vos à stirpe parentum
"Prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto
"Accipiet reduces: antiquam exquirite matrem.
"Hic domus † Aeneae cunctis dominabatur oris,
"Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis."

* Observe, the oracle speaks to the Trojans by this name, not Teucri, to intimate their descent from Dardanus; but this circumstance Anchises might easily overlook.

† Homer had said long before,

——— Αἰνείαο βιὴ Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,
Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται. Il. Υ. 308.

It was not uncommon of old, to have nations entertain prophecies of their being designed by Heaven to be masters of all the world. Such were pretended among the Romans, from the very infancy of their state; and was confirmed on the building of the old Capitol; to which Virgil alludes in another place:

"Dum domus Aeneae Capitolî immobile saxum
"Accolet, imperiumque Pater Romanus habebit."
Aen. IX. 449.

See this proved more at large, in Pol. III. 11.

VER. 102—113.

"Tum genitor, veterum *[1] volvens monumenta virorum:
"Audite, ó proceres, ait, et spes discite vestras.
"Creta Jovis magni medio jacet insula ponto;
"Mons *[2] Idaeus ubi, et gentis cunabula nostrae:
"Centum urbes habitant magnas, uberrima regna.
"Maximus unde pater, si rite audita recordor,
"Teucrus Rhaeteas primum est advectus in oras,
"Optavitque locum regno: nondum Ilium et arces
"Pergameae steterant; habitabant vallibus imis.
"Hinc mater cultrix Cybele *[3], Corybantiaque aera,
"Idaeumque nemus: hinc fida silentia sacris;
"Et juncti currum dominae subiere leones."

*[1] See Doctor Trapp's note on Ruaeus's remark on this passage. The Doctor observes, that Ruaeus gives no answer to

the charge: and the Doctor's answer is very short. I think, much more may be said in favour both of Anchises and his son. Anchises gives many arguments to justify his interpretation of the oracle; (viz.) their origin from Crete by Teucer, from whom they were descended; their mount Ida; their great Goddess Cybele, and all the ceremonies used in her worship: all Cretan. Besides, for their greater encouragement to go thither, they had reason to believe that they should find no opposition to their settling there:

"Fama volat pulsum regnis cessisse." Ver. 121, etc.

Afterwards, when Anchises was convinced of his mistake, he acknowledges that Cassandra had often foretold that Italy was the country destined to them:

"Et saepe Hesperiam, saepe Itala regna vocare."

But, for his excuse, he says;

"Quis ad Hesperiae venturos littora Teucros
"Crederet? aut quem tum vates Cassandra moveret."

Now when Anchises was so fully persuaded that all the foregoing circumstances concurred evidently in favour of Crete; that he had not any regard to Cassandra's prophecy, nor in the least thought of Italy; to what purpose should Aeneas at such a time advertise his father of Creüsa's prophecy, in opposition to an oracle, that seemed so clear for Crete: or how indeed could he be supposed to understand a prediction, which was in itself very obscure? It was this:

"Ad terram Hesperiam venies, ubi Lydius arva
"Inter opima virûm leni fluit agmine Tybris."
Aen. II. 781.

Here we must observe, she does not name Italy, but Terram Hesperiam, a western country; so the Greeks called not only Italy but Spain too, as lying west from them; and the same name might be applied by a Trojan to any country lying west from Troy. What follows, viz.

——— "Ubi Lydius arva," etc.

could give no light in ascertaining Italy: for the epithet Lydius given to Tybris required a long historical explanation, and Tybris was then unknown (for this was a new name given to the river, the old one, Albula, being changed, as we find, Aen. VIII. 330.); and Aeneas himself hints in the fifth book, ver. 83, that this name was unknown, when, addressing himself to his father's ghost, he says;

"Non licuit fines Italos, fataliaque arva,
"Nec tecum Ausonium, quicunque est, quaerere Tybrim.'

The "quicunque est" seems to be added on purpose to shew that the Tyber, as famous as it became afterwards, was then utterly unknown to them. But supposing Aeneas to have an imperfect idea that by Hesperia Creüsa meant Italy, we must allow him the same excuse as Anchises makes for himself;

"Quis ad Hesperiae venturos littora Teucros
"Crederet?"———

It was a country they were strangers to; and therefore how should it enter into their heads to think of settling there? When the Penates afterwards appear to Aeneas, and explain the oracle of Apollo expressly in favour of Italy, they describe it as any one would do a country before unknown:

"Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt;
"Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae.
"Oenotrii coluere viri."——— Ver. 163.

and when they name Italy they mention it only as reported to be called by that name.

——— "Nunc fama minores
"Italiam dixisse."———

And after this particular description of Italy by the Penates, yet still Aeneas was at a loss what part of the country they were to go to, and what course to take thither (notwithstanding Creüsa had named Tybris) till Hellenus afterwards informs him at large, ver. 381, etc.

*[2] "In medio insulae (Cretae) quà latissima est, mons est Ida "altissimus omnium qui in eâ sunt." Strab. lib. X.

*[3] Strabo, speaking of the Curetes, or Corybantes, says; "Ingens est diversitas istarum narrationum," etc. Lib. X. And, a little afterwards, he adds,—"Sceptius ait, in Cretâ "honores Rheae (i. e. Cybeles) non esse in usu, neque receptos "ibi ritus ejus, sed in Phrygiâ tantum ac Troade; qui aliter "affirment eos fabulam potius quam historiam tradere; ad quam "rem eos fortassis nomina locorum ambigua induxerunt. Ida "enim mons est et Trojae et Cretae."

VER. 124—127.

"Linquimus *[1] Ortygiae portus, pelagoque volamus
"Bacchatamque jugis Naxon, viridemque Donysam,
"Olearon, niveamque Paron, sparsasque per aequor
"Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta *[2] consita terris."

*[1] "Delos olim dicta fuit Ortygia." Strab. lib. X.—— "Delon ita appellatam prodidit Aristoteles quoniam repente "apparuerit enata." Plin. lib. IV. c. 12.

*[2] The most proper word that could be used, alluding to the Sporades.——Having mentioned the Cyclades by name, Virgil, for variety, expresses the latter by a periphrasis.

VER. 131—133.

—— "Tandem antiquis Curetum allabimur oris.
"Ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis,
"* Pergameamque voco."———

* Pliny reckons Pergamum amongst the cities of Crete. L. IV. c. xii.

VER. 142—146.

"Arebant herbae, et victum seges aegra negabat.
"Rursus ad * oraclum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso
"Hortatur pater ire mari, veniamque precari:
"Quem fessis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum
"Tentare auxilium jubeat, quo vertere cursus."

* This advice of Anchises was very proper: what other expedient could be thought of in their distress? But yet supposing Aeneas had returned to Delos; what must have been the consequence without the particular intercession of some Deity? Oracles were not used to explain themselves: and therefore, without that, the second answer must have been as dubious as the first; and Aeneas left in the same uncertainty as before. To avoid this difficulty, Virgil very opportunely introduces the apparition of the Penates, etc.

VER. 147—152.

"Nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat.
"Effigies sacrae Divûm, Phrygiique Penates,
"Quos mecum à Trojâ mediisque ex ignibus urbis
"Extuleram, visi *[2] ante oculos astare jacentis
"In somnis, multo manifesti lumine: quà se
"Plena per insertas fundebat Luna fenestras."

*[1] Plutarch, in the life of Julius Caesar, relates a dream or vision of Calpurnia, Caesar's wife, the night preceding his murder; which he introduces in the following manner. "As "Caesar was in bed with his wife, all the doors and windows of "the house flew open together; he was startled at the noise, "and at the light which broke into the room, and sat upon his "bed, where, by the moonshine, he perceived Calpurnia fast "asleep," etc. Virgil was probably well acquainted with the

story, being about twenty-seven years of age at Caesar's death. If he may be supposed to allude to some of the aforesaid circumstances of that vision, he has very judiciously chosen only such as were proper to enforce the clearness of it; (viz.)

——— " Multo manifesti lumine: quà se
" Luna," etc.———

and has omitted the other circumstances of all the doors and windows of the house flying open together, and the startling at the noise; which were proper preludes to the butchery of Caesar, but not to his story.

*[2] See Dr. Trapp's Translation and note on this passage.

Ver. 163—168.

" Est locus, Hesperiam Graii cognomine dicunt;
" Terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glebae;
" Oenotrii coluere viri: nunc fama minores
" Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.
" Hae nobis propriae sedes: hinc Dardanus ortus,
" *[1] Iäsiusque *[2] pater, genus à quo principe nostrum."

*[1] Marianus de Etruriâ metropoli, asserts; " Dardani " fratrem Jasium, qui Cybelem uxorem duxit, in Etruriae agro " mansisse, atque inde petiisse Arcadiam, Samothraciam, et " Phrygiam, cum Curetibus et magnis Diis. Ea sacrificia anti- " quissima renovata demum ab Jasio Corybantis patre tradit " Diodorus Siculus. Homerus Odyss. V. et ipse Diodorus " Cererem ipsam narrant Jasio nuptam, quod Cybelem et " Cererem eandem esse argumento est," etc. Marianus, cap. v.

*[2] Some interpreters give a very strange ungrammatical construction of this place, which may be solved by supposing that Virgil artfully gives the title of Pater, to signify old Jasius, meaning that he lived till he was old; and joins them very lovingly together, on purpose to discredit and shew his disbelief of the story of Dardanus's having murdered Jasius, not thinking it to their honour, or a thing to be boasted of, to be descended from one who was banished from his own country for the murder of his brother. I am the more inclined to believe that this was Virgil's intention, from observing that he has used the like caution with respect to Romulus and Remus, which is almost a parallel case; and though that story of Romulus's murdering Remus was a common tradition at Rome, Virgil never gives the least hint of it; on the contrary he joins them both together very honourably in two several places (viz.);

" Hanc Remus et frater." Geor. II. ver. 533.

and, again, Aen. I. ver. 296.

"Remo cum fratre Quirinus."

Ver. 172—179.

"* Talibus attonitus visis ac voce Deorum
"(Nec sopor illud erat; sed coram agnoscere vultus,
"Velatasque comas, praesentiaque ora videbar;
"Tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor),
"Corripio è stratis corpus, tendoque supinas
"Ad caelum cum voce manus, et munera libo
"Intemerata focis: perfecto laetus honore
"Anchisen facio certum, remque ordine pando."

* Compare this with the appearance of Mercury to Hannibal, Sil. Ital. lib. III. from ver. 168. to 216. (particularly, "neque enim sopor ille," ver. 198.), and Isis's appearance in a dream to Telethusa, Ovid. Met. lib. IX. Fab. xii.

Ver. 210—212.

——— "*[1] Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae
"Insulae *[2] Ionio in magno: quas dira Celaeno,
"Harpyiaeque colunt aliae."———

*[1] Sir G. Wheeler tells us that the Strophades, called now Strovadi or Strivalli, are judged about 50 miles from Zant, and 30 from the Morea; very low, and the biggest not above 5 miles in circuit, p. 45.

*[2] See Georg. I. ver. 281.

Ver. 255—257.

"Sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem,
"Quàm vos dira fames, nostraeque injuria caedis,
"Ambesas subigat * malis absumere mensas."

* See Georg. III. ver. 268.

Ver. 270—276.

"Jam medio apparet fluctu nemorosa †[1] Zacynthos *[1]
"*[2] Dulichiumque *[3] Sameque, et Neritos ardua saxis;
"Effugimus scopulos *[4] Ithacae, Laërtia regna
"Et terram altricem saevi execramur Ulyssis:
"Mox et Leucatae nimbosa cacumina montis,
"Et formidatus nautis aperitur † Apollo;
"Hunc petimus fessi, et parvae succedimus urbi."

†[1] Dionysius Halicarnasseus (after having spoken of the various stories relating to Aeneas's voyage; where he is giving

that which may be most depended upon) says; Ἐκεῖθεν (from Zacynthos) πελάγιον ποιησάμενοι τὸν πλοῦν εἰς Λευκάδα κατάγονται, κατεχόντων ἔτι τὸ χώριον Ἀκαρνανῶν· καὶ ταύτῃ πάλιν ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἱδρύονται. Τοῦτο ὁ νῦν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ νησίδι τῇ μεταξὺ τοῦ Διορύκτου τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως· καλεῖται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Αἰνειάδος. Ἄραντες δὲ αὐτόθεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄκτιον ἐλθόντες, ὁρμίζονται τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ Κόλπου πρὸς τὸ ἀκρωτήριον· κακεῖθεν εἰς Ἀμβρακίαν ἀφικνοῦνται πόλιν. Lib. I. p. 40.

Virgil perhaps makes them stay at Actium, to celebrate the games there, in compliment to Augustus; who instituted the Actian Games, three years after his victory off this shore; in gratitude to the Actian Apollo, who was said personally to assist him in that victory.

Ovid, who describes this voyage of Aeneas so much in haste, does not omit his compliment on the same occasion:

——— " Versique vident sub imagine saxum
" Judicis, Actiaco quae nunc ab Apolline nota est."

* Zacynthos, now Zant, one of the famous Currant Islands, subject to the state of Venice. Sir G. Wheeler tells us, that it is about thirty miles in circuit; and is one of the most fruitful and pleasant places he ever saw. It lieth, he says, about thirty miles distant from the Morea, and about ten miles or more south from Cephalonia or Samê. Pag. 39.

*[2] Over against Pescarda (which is a harbour on the east side of Cephalonia), is the isle Thiaki, separated from Cephalonia only by a strait of three or four miles over; for which reason some call it Little Cephalonia. The likeness of its name hath made it be taken for Ithaca, one of the principal Isles of Ulysses's kingdom; and is placed there by Sanson and Sophianus. But they may be deceived: for Strabo, speaking of Ithaca, gives it but eighty stadia about, which maketh ten Italian miles; and this island is at the least double. Therefore I believe that Ithaca is another little island, seven or eight miles from hence, called yet Ithaca: which is much less than this; which Sir George Wheeler believes was antiently called Dulichium, because it hath on the east side a port with the ruins of a town called yet Dolichia. In a wood there are to be seen the ruins of an old castle, which the islanders tell you was the palace of Ulysses. Sir G. Wheeler, p. 35, etc.

*[3] The isle of Cephalonia in Homer's time was called Samos; it was the greatest island of Ulysses's kingdom. And I wonder (says Sir G. Wheeler) that Strabo maketh it not above 300 stadia in circuit, which amount but to 38 Italian miles; and Pliny no more than 44 miles; although indeed it hath more than 120 miles in compass, p. 36.

*[4] As to the Isle Ithaca, it is desert; and those of Thiaki go thither to till it, in its seasons, p. 35.

*[5] The island of St. Mauro was antiently called Leucada; and the modern Greeks call it so yet: for the castle only is properly called St. Mauro, from a convent which stood there, whilst it was under the Venetians. Strabo says, that it was antiently joined to the land; and that the strait was dug to separate it; which is likely enough; for in the straitest part it doth not much exceed fifty paces over, and almost everywhere three or four feet of water. It is in this narrowest part of the strait that the antient city Leucada had its situation, upon an eminence a mile from the sea; of which some remains are yet to be seen. Sir G. Wheeler, p. 36.

†[2] This is meant of the famous statue of Apollo, placed on the promontory of Actium: which as it stood so high, was visible to the mariners a good way out at sea; and was much revered by them. Pol. VIII. 64 and 65.

VER. 283—288.

" Interea *[1] magnum sol circumvolvitur annum;
" Et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas.
" Aere *[2] cavo clypeum, magni gestamen Abantis,
" Postibus adversis figo, et rem carmine signo;
" *Aeneas haec de Danais victoribus arma.*"

Quaer. If, by " Magnum annum" here, Virgil does not mean Quinquennium; the usual time for celebrating these times? If so, we are hereby informed of the time since Aeneas left Troy.

*[2] This alludes to the dedication made by Augustus at the place after the battle of Actium, as Aeneas's celebrating the games there does to his sports. Strabo tells us that, " De " praedâ ex hostibus captâ Caesar dedicavit decem naves, ab " uno remorum ordine acta ad deciremem usque, primitias spoli- " orum." Lib. VII.

VER. 339—341.

" Quid puer Ascanius? superatne, et vescitur aurâ?
" Quem tibi jam Troja *[1]———
" Ecquae jam puero est amissae cura *[2] parentis?"

*[1] This break was certainly intended, and is a great beauty. Virgil through this whole passage makes Andromache express her passionate enquiries in broken sobs.———What if we suppose that Aeneas, perceiving by this beginning that Andromache was going to enquire after Creüsa, stops her, to prevent her naming her name; and, by some sign, signifies that she was dead? It is very common among the Italians to this day to express their meaning by signs; and supposing this to be the case, the enquiry in the next verse follows very properly.

*[2] Some commentators explain Parentis (Patriae), the sense of

which would be very good, and be very properly followed by the two ensuing verses; but as it would be unmannerly and inexcusable in Andromache, if she had not known Creüsa's fate, not to make the least mention of or enquiry after her, therefore we must suppose that she did not know it; and her condoling compliment to be paid here; and the word here used (viz.) Amissae, is the most proper that could be used on the occasion; and shews plainly that Andromache condoles the loss of Creüsa, and that tenderly without mentioning her name. Ruaeus tells us how Andromache might be informed of the story: but supposing that she could not know it before this interview with Aeneas, would these critics have Virgil introduce her enquiring of Aeneas where his wife was? That could not be without obliging Aeneas at the same time to relate again in form the whole story of the loss of her, which would have been absurd. Therefore, allowing she was told by Aeneas, it was necessary that it should be in private, and not related here. As we must suppose many things to have passed in their discourse touching this long voyage, which could not properly be related here: and this is agreeable to Horace's rule:

——— "In medias res,
"Non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit; et quae
"Desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit."

It is sufficient that she hints by the word Amissae, that she knew the story. We must suppose that Aeneas answered Andromache's questions; "Tibi qui cursum venti," etc. "Quid puer "Ascanius," etc. though Virgil does not say it. We must likewise suppose that enquiry was made after Anchises, though not asserted here; for we find afterwards presents sent to him:

——— "Sunt et sua dona parenti."

If all had been related in form, in questions and answers, this pathetic interview must have proved a very insipid one.

Ver. 377—383.

"Pauca tibi è multis, quo tutior hospita lustres
"Aequora, et Ausonio possis considere portu,
"Expediam dictis: prohibent nam caetera Parcae
"Scire Helenum, † farique vetat Saturnia Juno.
"Principio Italiam, quam tu jam rere propinquam,
"Vicinosque, ignare, paras invadere portus,
"* Longa procul longis via dividit invia terris."

† Virgil represents the prophet Helenus, as restrained in his discoveries of what was to happen to Aeneas, in his going for Italy. The great point in which he was thus restrained, was

Aeneas's delay at Carthage; and the danger that arose from it, of his quite breaking off his voyage, and settling in that city. Hence he says afterwards, ver. 440. "If Juno does not pre-"vent it, you shall go from Sicily to Italy;" and it is true, he did so; but that was after the second time of his being in Sicily: and the whole affair of his being driven to the coast of Afric, and his staying so long at Carthage (which happened after his first leaving Sicily), is totally dropped by Helenus. All he does tell him, is; how he may escape the other dangers in his voyage; and what he is to do, and where to fix, when he is got to Italy.

* This verse hints at the form of Italy; which is extended in length like a leg, and has one side divided from the other by a craggy ridge of mountains.

Ver. 389—393.

"Cum tibi solicito secreti ad fluminis undam
"Litoreis ingens inventa sub ilicibus † sus
"Triginta capitum foetus enixa jacebit,
"Alba, solo recubans, albi circum ubera nati;
"Is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum."

† "Quod portenderit factum 30 annis ut Lavinienses condi-"derint oppidum Albam. Hujus suis ac porcorum etiam "nunc vestigia apparent Lavinii; quod et simulacra eorum "ahenea etiam nunc in publico posita, et corpus matris, quod "in salsurâ fuerit, demonstratur." Varro, De re rust. l. II. c. iv. § 18.

Ver. 399—402.

"Hic et Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri,
"Et Salentinos obsedit milite campos
"Lyctius Idomeneus: hic illa ducis Meliboei
"Parva * Philoctetae subnixa Petilia muro."

* "Thurinorum urbem condidisse Philocteten ferunt, ibique adhuc Monumentum ejus visitur." Justin. lib. XX. c. i.

Ver. 410—413.

"Ast, ubi digressum Siculae te admoverit orae
"Ventus, et angusti *[1] rarescent claustra Pelori;
"Laeva tibi tellus et longo laeva petantur
"Aequora circuitu: dextrum *[2] fuge littus et undas."

*[1] Dr. Trapp has translated this very justly: "And strait "Pelorus shews its narrow passage." But in his notes he says; "One would think the word Rarescent should signify the "direct contrary," etc.——Any one who only looks on the map will observe, that Italy and Sicily must appear at some

distance to sailors as one land, till they come in a direct line with the Straits; and then the Claustra Pelori must open and discover its narrow passage. In this point of view Virgil should be understood.

*[2] See the account of Octavius's sufferings in the straits of Messina. Appian, from p. 1142 to 1148. edit. Toll.

Ver. 433—439.

" * Praeterea, si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,
" Si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo;
" Unum illud tibi, nate Dea, praeque omnibus unum
" Praedicam, et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo;
" Junonis magnae primum prece numen adora;
" Junoni cane vota libens, dominamque potentem
" Supplicibus supera donis."———

* Observe with how much earnestness Helenus gives this admonition; he repeats it over and over, and insists upon it as his principal instruction; as Aeneas himself observes afterwards, ver. 546, " Dederat quae maxima." The occasion, I suppose, was; the Poet hereby pays a compliment to Augustus for the temples he built in honour of Juno, notwithstanding her former hatred to the Trojans. Compare this with book XII. 840.

Ver. 456, 457.

" Quin adeas vatem, precibusque oracula poscas:
" * Ipsa canat, vocemque volens atque ora resolvat."

* Emphatically, Sibylla herself. See lib. VI. ver. 76.

Ver. 521, 522.

" Jamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis:
" Cum procul * obscuros colles, humilemque videmus
" Italiam."———

* At such a distance that one scarce distinguishes whether they are mountains, or not. Lucan expresses this thought very prettily:

——— " Dubios vanescere montes." Phars. lib. III. ver. 7.

Ver. 564—567.

" Tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et îdem
" Subductâ ad manes imos descendimus undâ.
" Ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere;
" † Ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra."

† Mr. Holdsworth thinks this line may possibly mean, " the " foam dashed from the rocks, and falling in sparkling drops."

I wish it would fairly admit of his meaning; because otherwise the sense draws too far toward the extravagant; though not so much as Lucan's, in his storm, where he says, that their sails sometimes touched the clouds, and their keel the bottom of the sea:

" Nubila tanguntur velis, et terra carinâ." Phars. V. 642.

Ver. 630—636.

—— " Simul expletus dapibus, vinoque sepultus
" Cervicem inflexam posuit, jacuitque per antrum
" Immensus, saniem * eructans, ac frusta cruento
" Per somnum commixta mero; nos, magna precati
" Numina, sortitique vices, unà undique circum
" Fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto
" Ingens, quod torvâ solum sub fronte latebat."

* This is a very natural description, and well suited to such a brute as Polypheme; but would be too gross for the ears of a Queen, if we do not consider the story as related by Aeneas, " totidem verbis," from Achemenides. However, I think it was well that supper was over.

Ver. 682—688.

" Praecipites metus acer agit quocunque rudentes
" Excutere, et ventis intendere vela secundis.
" Contrà, * jussa monent Heleni Scyllam atque Charybdim
" Inter utramque viam, leti discrimine parvo,
" Ni teneant cursus: certum est dare lintea retro.
" Ecce autem Boreas angusta à sede Pelori
" Missus adest."———

* Aeneas is here in such difficulty from the danger of being driven on Scylla and Charybdis to avoid the Cyclops, that methinks he seems somewhat embarrassed even in his account; till a northerly gale springs up, and sets him clear.

AENEID THE FOURTH.

Ver. 24—27.

" Sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat;
" Vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,
" Pallentes umbras †[1] Erebi, noctemque profundam,
" †[2] Ante, Pudor, quâm te violo, aut tua jura resolvo."

†[1] For the situation of Erebus in the supposed subterraneous world, and the propriety of Virgil's description of it in this line, see Pol. XVI. 4 and 13.

†[2] Prius, ver. 24, makes this Ante a needless, or rather a faulty, repetition.—It was probably, according to Markland' conjecture, SANTE, or SANCTE PUDOR, in the old manuscript.

Ver. 40, 41.

" Hinc Getulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,
" Et Numidae * infraeni cingunt, et inhospita Syrtis."

* Infraeni here is very improperly interpreted Indomiti, by Ruaeus. Virgil certainly means their governing their horses without a bridle, by a wand only. See Lucan, lib. IV.

——— " Gens fraenorum nescia," etc.———

Martial, lib. IX. Ep. xxiii.

" Et Massylaeum virga gubernet equum."

Claudian, De bello Gildon.

——— " Sonipes ignarus habenae;
" Virga regit."———

Silius Italicus describes this horsemanship of the Numidae most particularly:

" Hic passim exultant Numidae, gens inscia fraeni;
" Queis inter geminas per ludum mobilis aures
" Quadrupedem flectit non cedens virga lupatis."
Lib. I. 215.

Ver. 120—122.

" His ego nigrantem commista grandine nimbum,
" Dum trepidant alae, saltusque indagine cingunt,
" Desuper infundam, et tonitru † caelum omne ciebo."

† That Juno and Minerva shared the high privilege of managing the thunder, with Jupiter, is proved at large in Pol. VI. 80.

Ver. 141—150.

——— " Ipse ante alios † pulcherrimus omnes
" Infert se socium Aeneas, atque agmina jungit.
" Qualis, ubi hybernam Lyciam, Xanthique fluenta
" Deserit, ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo,
" Instauratque choros: mixtique altaria circum
" Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt, pictique Agathyrsi:
" Ipse jugis Cynthi graditur, mollique fluentem
" Fronde premit crinem fingens, atque implicat auro:
" Tela sonant humeris. Haud illo segnior ibat
" Aeneas: tantum egregio decus enitet ore."

† Virgil, in speaking of Aeneas, has often an eye toward Augustus: how particularly so in this comparison of Aeneas to Apollo, see Pol. VIII. 1, and 10 to 22.—The Apollo here described has a great resemblance to the famous Belvedere Apollo. Ib. 23.

Ver. 165.

" Speluncam Dido †, dux et Trojanus eandem
" Deveniunt."———

† Mr. Addison used to observe, " that Virgil was more judi-" cious in the use of his epithets than Homer. Homer's usual " epithet for his hero (said he) is ποδας ωκυς, or ποδαρκης; and " is used by him of Achilles whether he is fighting, standing, " sitting, or lying down. Virgil's most common epithet for his " hero, is Pius, or Pater; and I have considered what passage " there is in any part of the Aeneid, where either of these ap-" pellations would be the most improper for him: and this, I " think, is his meeting with Dido in the cave; where *Pius* " *Aeneas* would have been absurd, and *Pater Aeneas* a bur-" lesque. The Poet has therefore judiciously dropped them " both for *Dux Trojanus:* which he has repeated twice; in " Juno's speech, and in his own narration: for he very well " knew, a loose action might be consistent enough with the " usual manners of a soldier; though it became neither the " chastity of a pious man, nor the gravity of the father of a " people." From the Tatler, N°. VI. It was this observation of his, which he had communicated before to his school-fellow Steel, which discovered to the former who was the author of the Tatlers; and, in about half a year after, engaged him to join in the work: and so, at the long run, was the occasion of all his fine Spectators, etc.

Ver. 181—183.

"Monstrum horrendum, ingens; cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
"Tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
"Tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures."

† In Pol. (pl. XXIX.) is a figure of Fame, the under side of whose wings is all studded with eyes.———I am apt to imagine, that some of the lower painters of old used to represent Fame (as some of the moderns have done of late) with eyes and ears all over her body; even to her fingers' ends: for which, in particular, Lucian seems to ridicule them in the following passage. *Πολυωτον σεαυτον αναπεφηνας, τοσαυτα ακηκοως· ὡς και καια το τερατωδες, και δια των ονυχων ηκηκοεις.* Tom. II. p. 756. ed. Blaeu. Lucian here calls Fame, *το τερατωδες*, as Virgil calls her Monstrum.

Ver. 246, 247.

——— "Jamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
"Atlantis duri, caelum qui † vertice fulcit."

† In another place Virgil says, that he supports it with his shoulder (Aen. VIII. 137.); and Ovid says in one place, he supports it with his shoulders (Fast. V. 169.); and in another, with his neck (Met. VI. 175.) These seeming contrarieties are reconciled by the Farnese Atlas: in which figure he is represented as supporting the globe of the heavens, at the same time, with his head, neck, and shoulders. See Pol. pl. XXXIV.

Ver. 345—361.

—— "Italiam magnam Grynaeus Apollo,
"Italiam Lyciae † jussere capessere sortes:
"Hic amor, haec patria est. Si te Carthaginis arces
"Phoenissam, Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis:
"Quae tandem Ausoniâ Teucros considere terrâ
"Invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna. κ. τ. λ.

† Aeneas's reason for leaving Dido is the very strongest that could have been given, to an Heathen. "He had repeated "commands from the Gods to leave her; and therefore could "not stay."

The reason why it sounds so weak to many of the modern critics must be; either from those who were then looked upon as Gods being now seen in a ridiculous light; or from our critics not having so strong a notion of the interposition of Providence as the Heathens had.

I do not remember that any one of these critics has ever observed that this speech is left unfinished by Virgil: and yet a

good-natured critic, that was not satisfied with the reasons given, might well say, " that Virgil probably had others in re-" serve, had he lived to complete his work."

VER. 402—405.

" Ac veluti ingentem formicae farris acervum
" Cum populant, hiemis memores, tectoque reponunt:
" It * nigrum campis agmen, praedamque per herbas
" Convectant calle angusto."———

* Jodicus Badius Ascensius, in his notes on Horace, lib. I. Sat. vii. observes, that this verse is taken from Ennius, who speaks it de Barris, i. e. Nigris Elephantis; from whence Virgil very beautifully applies it to ants.

VER. 435—440.

" Extremam hanc ora veniam; miserere sororis:
" Quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatum *[1] morte remittam.
" Talibus orabat, talesque miserrima fletus
" Fertque refertque soror: sed nullis ille movetur
" Fletibus, aut voces ullas tractabilis audit.
" Fata obstant: *[2] placidasque viri Deus obstruit aures."

*[1] Quaer. If this must not be supposed to be spoken aside, so as not to be overheard by her sister? Otherwise it contradicts what follows.

*[2] Aeneas in his speech to Dido's shade, lib. VI. 460, speaks to the same purpose, and owns that he loved her:

" Invitus, Regina, tuo de littore cessi:" etc.

And Anchises's ghost declares as much to Aeneas:

" Quàm metui, ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent!"
Lib. VI. 694.

The greatest souls are subject to this passion.

VER. 509—511.

" Stant arae circum: et crines effusa sacerdos
" Tercentum tonat ore Deos; Erebumque Chaosque,
" † Tergeminamque Hecaten tria virginis ora Dianae."

" † Ora vides Hecates, in tres vertentia partes."
Ovid. Fast. I. ver. 141.

" Diana interim est altè succincta, venatrix; et Ephesia, " mammis multis, et veribus extructa; et Trivia, multis capiti-" bus et multis manibus horrifica." Minutius Felix, § XXI. p. 108. ed. Davis.

Her own proper name, under this appearance, was Hecate. Trivia is only an accidental one; from her statues being usually placed where three streets (or ways) met together.

Ver. 560—562.

"Nate Deâ, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?
"Nec, quae circumstent te deinde pericula, cernis?
"Demens! nec * Zephyros audis spirare secundos?

* How does this agree with the beginning of the fifth book? Unless by Zephyros is meant only fine weather?—But supposing we take it for the south-westerly winds; we must consider this only as a vision to hasten Aeneas's departure; and, therefore, in this place, when Mercury is hurrying him to be gone instantly, it would have been ridiculous to have made him dream that the wind was contrary; it was necessary to represent it as favourable as it could blow, yet I see no necessity of his finding it so when awake: it was then (we will suppose) northerly; yet he obeys the admonition, and rows out of the harbour. Compare this with the second verse of the fifth book:

——— "Fluctusque atros Aquilone secabat."

Ver. 569, 570.

"Eia age, rumpe moras: * varium et mutabile semper
"Femina."———

* Dryden, in his dedication to the Aeneis, observes, that this is the sharpest satire, in the fewest words, that ever was made on womankind; for both the adjectives are neuter, and Animal must be understood to make them grammar. Virgil, says he, does well to put those words into the mouth of Mercury, etc.

Ver. 581, 582.

"Idem omnes simul ardor habet: rapiuntque, ruuntque;
"Litora deseruere; * latet sub classibus aequor."

* From their going close and compact together.

Ver. 600—612.

"Non potui abreptum divellere corpus, et undis
"Spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
"Ascanium, patriisque epulandum apponere mensis?
"Verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna! fuisset.
"Quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem,
"Implessemque foros flammis; natumque patremque
"Cum genere extinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.

"* Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras:
"Tuque harum interpres curarum, et conscia Juno,
"Nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,
"Et Dirae ultrices, et Dii morientis Elisae,
"Accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen,
"Et nostras audite preces."———

* Dr. Trapp here remarks that after all the rage and madness, and variety of passion, expressed in the most rapid style, with short quick sentences, questions, exclamations, etc. in Dido's foregoing speech; she here, in the very next words (between which and the foregoing she must be imagined to have paused, and panted, and taken breath), cools, and settles, falls into the long, and slow style, and prays for plagues upon the head of her false lover, with such religious formality, and solemnity of horror, as is enough to chill one's blood, while one reads it. See his Introductory Remarks on the fourth book, part II.——At the conclusion of this excellent remark he has the following observation: "I much question whether Virgil did not leave the last verse imperfect at,

"Imprecor, arma armis."——— Ver. 629.

"And whether some editor did not fill it up with,

— "pugnent ipsique nepotes;"

"Which seems (says he) to be a very flat and bald hemistich "(more like one of Ovid's than of Virgil's), especially at the "very conclusion of so noble a speech; and yet more especially "since it is a tautology with,

"Tum vos, O Tyrii, stirpem, et genus omne futurum
"Exercete odiis," etc.

I must beg leave to differ from this excellent critic. Let us consider then the whole drift of these twenty-three lines: Dido having invoked all the Gods and Goddesses, proper to be applied to on this occasion, to revenge her on Aeneas, is by them inspired with a kind of prophetic spirit, to call down such judgments upon him, and his posterity, as were afterwards in some measure fulfilled. The first part of her imprecation is levelled at Aeneas. And here we must observe, that Virgil takes this opportunity, which he has not elsewhere done, of hinting at the latter part of Aeneas's history, after he had killed Turnus (viz.); his short reign, and the manner of his death: Ver. 618, etc. It is true, indeed, that scarce any of these curses against Aeneas were completed according to the full import of the words, or, as we may suppose Dido wished. But we know

by a parallel case that the terrible curse of the Harpy was accomplished in a joke: and even the predictions of oracles, which were seemingly most dreadful, often ended in trifles. The latter part of Dido's imprecation relates to the posterity of Aeneas. And this we find actually fulfilled in Hannibal, in the frequent breach of leagues; and the perpetual enmity between the Romans and Carthaginians, till the latter were certainly destroyed. Dido, not contented to stop here, entails the completion of her curses upon all the descendants of the Carthaginians:

—— "pugnent ipsique nepotes."

This seems to take in Juba more particularly, who descended, as it is said, from a sister of Hannibal; and so the imprecation is continued to Virgil's own time. There is a passage in Lucan to this purpose, which supposes Juba derived a natural hatred to the Romans from this very cause, his descent from the Carthaginians. When Pompey, after the battle of Pharsalia, was consulting with his friends what course to take, and some of them proposed to fly for succour to Juba, Pompey opposed it and said;

—— "Anceps dubii terret solertia Mauri:
"Namque memor generis, Carthaginis impia proles
"Imminet Hesperiae, multusque in pectore vano est
"Hannibal, obliquo maculat qui sanguine regnum,
"Et Numidas contingit avos."—— Phars. lib. VIII. 283.

Plutarch likewise tells us, that when Cato was for defending Utica against Caesar, his friends opposed his shutting himself up there, because they suspected the Uticenses, as being of the race of the Carthaginians. In short, it was the general opinion of the Romans, that Hannibal and the Carthaginians had tainted the whole country.

Ver. 612–629.

—— "Si tangere portus
"Infandum caput, ac terris adnare necesse est;
"Et sic fata Jovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:
"At *[1] bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,
"Finibus extorris, complexu avulsus Iüli,
"Auxilium imploret, videatque indigna suorum
"Funera: nec, cum se sub leges pacis *[2] iniquae
"Tradiderit, regno aut optatâ luce fruatur;
"Sed *[3] cadat ante diem, mediâque *[4] inhumatus arenâ.
"Haec precor; hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.
"Tum vos, ô Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum

"Exercete odiis; cinerique haec mittite nostro
"Munera: nullus amor populis, nec foedera sunto.
"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
"Qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos;
"Nunc, olim, quocunque dabunt se tempore vires,
"Litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
"Imprecor, arma armis: pugnent ipsique nepotes."

*[1] "Quasi has inferias sibi Saguntinorum ultimae dirae in "illo publico parricidio incendioque mandassent; ita manibus "eorum, vastatione Italiae, captivitate Africae, ducum et regum, "qui id gessêre bellum, exitio parentatum est." Florus, lib. II. c. vi. To which Minellius has this note; "Non leve "momentum habere putabantur pereuntium imprecationes, "adversus eos qui salutem eorum injustè impugnaverant," etc. See likewise the curse of Eumenes, Justin. XIV. iv.

*[2] Iniquae may here signify unequal, as it often does: and so be fulfilled by the peace with Latinus, notwithstanding Aeneas had the advantage of the conditions. The ambiguity of the word makes it suit better with the prophetic style.

*[3] Aeneas lived to be old, as Anchises assures, lib. VI. 764. "Quem tibi longaevo," etc. therefore this curse of Dido was accomplished by fame only, or vulgar opinion.

*[4] Dionysius Halicarnasseus says; "Commisso acri praelio, "multisque utrinque caesis, Aeneae corpus nusquam apparuit: "alii in Deos translatum putârunt, alii mersum fluvio juxta "quem proelium fuerat. Latini templum Aeneae condiderunt, "cum inscriptione, Jovi Indigeti, seu Patri Divo terrestri, qui "fluvii Numici undas gubernat." Lib. I. Juvenal hints at this tradition; when speaking of Hercules and Aeneas, he says;

"Alter aquis, alter flammis ad *sidera* missus."
Sat. XI. 63.

Silius Italicus agrees with Virgil that Aeneas had quiet possession of the kingdom of Latinus; and enjoyed it for some time. At the beginning of his eighth book, when Anna, Dido's sister, is relating the story of her being driven on the coast of Laurentum, she says;

"Ecce autem Aeneas sacro comitatus Iülo,
"Jam regni compos, noto sese ore ferebat."
Lib. VIII. 71.

And a few verses before she says, this was two years after the death of Dido:

"Ast ea dum flavas bis tondet messor aristas
"Servata interea sedes; nec longius uti
"His opibus Battoque fuit."——

Ver. 659, 660.

"Dixit, et os impressa toro, moriemur inultae?
"Sed moriemur, ait: sic, † sic, juvat ire sub umbras."

† It is at this instant that she stabs herself (like the tyrants in our tragedies—*Thus, thus, I thank thee!*—when they give two or three repeated strokes of the poniard). Her last resolution is taken immediately before this; and she has given the blow before ver. 663.

* Methinks, says Dr. Trapp, I see her strike two strokes while she pronounces these words: and I am confident Virgil intended by that repetition to convey that image to the mind. As in another place;

——— "Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
"Immolat."———

See his Introductory Remarks to this Book; part II.

AENEID THE FIFTH.

Ver. 1—4.

"Interea medium Aeneas jam classe tenebat
"Certus iter, fluctusque atros * Aquilone secabat,
"Moenia respiciens, quae jam infelicis Elisae
"Collucent flammis."———

* I cannot agree with Ruaeus that Virgil means by Aquilone the wind in general: at least I think he would not in this place have expressed himself by Aquilone, if he meant a contrary southerly wind, though not favourable, to shew his hero's resolution: and this thought is still heightened by "fluctus atros;" he was determined to be gone, though the wind was contrary and the sea black, and rough weather. This explanation corresponds exactly with Dido's speech to Aeneas, upon her first discovery of his intention to leave her:

"Quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem,
"Et mediis properas Aquilonibus ire per altum;
"Crudelis!"——— Lib. IV. 310.

And when Dido finds Aeneas deaf to her entreaties, and determined to be gone, she then desires her sister Anna to prevail on him, only to defer his voyage till he might go more easily, when the winds were favourable:

"Quò ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti;
"Expectet facilemque fugam, ventosque ferentes."

Lib. IV. 429.

VER. 10—21.

"Olli caeruleus supra caput astitit imber,
"Noctem hiememque ferens; et inhorruit unda tenebris.
"Ipse gubernator puppi Palinurus ab altâ:
"Heu! quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
"Quidve, pater Nuptune, paras? Sic deinde locutus,
"Colligere arma jubet, validisque incumbere remis;
"Obliquatque sinus in ventum, ac talia fatur:
"Magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Jupiter auctor
"Spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
"* Mutati transversa fremunt, et vespere ab atro
"Consurgunt venti; atque in nubem cogitur aër.
"Nec nos obniti contra, nec tendere tantum
"Sufficimus."———

* It might here be objected, that as Aeneas, verse 2, set out from Carthage with a contrary wind, its shifting to the west was rather an advantage to him and ought to have made Palinurus rejoice rather than complain. But to this we may answer; that although the northerly wind is far from being favourable from Carthage to Italy; yet supposing it regular and steady, as it commonly is from that quarter, they might sail out with it and row; whereas upon the wind changing, it immediately threatened a storm:

——— "Supra caput astitit imber
"Noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris."

Ver. 11.

This obliged them to take to their oars; "Colligere arma, "validisque incumbere remis;" the storm increasing and blowing a hurricane across them, "transversa fremunt," they could no longer make use of their oars, "nec obniti contra nec ten-"dere sufficimus." Upon this they are forced, "flectere viam "velis," to hoist their sails; and go directly before the wind, which drove them to the coast of Sicily, as fortune and the Gods directed.

VER. 116—122.

"Velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristin,
"Mox Italus Mnestheus, genus à quo nomine Memmî:
"Ingentemque Gyas ingenti mole Chimaeram,
"Urbis opus; triplici pubes quam Dardana versu
"Impellunt, terno consurgunt ordine remi.
"* Sergestusque, domus tenet à quo Sergia nomen,
"Centauro invehitur magnâ."———

* See an account of Sergius, Appian, lib. IV. 989. There is a triumphal arch still remaining at Pola in honour of the family.

VER. 129—131.

"Hic viridem Aeneas † frondenti ex ilice metam
"Constituit, signum nautis, pater; unde reverti
"Scirent, et longos ubi circumflectere cursus."

† This was in the winter (from IV. 309 anteh.): but the Ilex is an evergreen. They are very frequent in Italy, where they call them Ilce: and begin to be not uncommon in England: we call them Evergreen Oaks.

Horace speaks of the Quercus and Ilices together, lib. III. Od. 33. 10.—Ep. I. xvi. 9.—and Virgil, G. III. 332.

The leaf of the Ilex is like that of Holly; only of a darker dirtier green: "Ilice sub nigrâ." Ecl. VI. 54.

"Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
"Nigrae feraci frondis in Algido." Hor. lib. IV. Od. iv. 58.

VER. 144—147.

"Non tam praecipites bijugo certamine campum
"Corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus;
"Nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
"Concussere jugis, pronique in verbera pendent."

* See Pope's Odyssey, book XIII. note on verse 98.

VER. 235—238.

"Dii, quibus imperium est pelagi, quorum aequora curro;
"Vobis laetus ego hoc candentem in litore taurum
"Constituam ante aras voti reus, extaque salsos
"* Porriciam in fluctus, et vina liquentia fundam."

* "Exta Deis cum dabant, Porricere dicebant." Varro De Re Rust. lib. I. c. xxix.

VER. 250, 251.

——"Chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum
"Purpura * Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit."

* "Maeandrus genus picturae dictum a similitudine flexûs "amnis qui appellatur Maeandrus."——"Solevano adornare e "guarnire l'estremità delle veste con certe strisce di porpora "riportate con lavori di questi Maeandri." Buanorroti's Medaglioni, p. 93, where he represents in a plate the figure of some Goddess in a habit hemmed with such Maeanders.

VER. 379.

——— " Manibusque inducere * caestus."

* See Fabretti, Columnn. Trajan. c. viii. et ver. 403. posthac.

VER. 490—493.

" Convenere viri, *[1] dejectamque aerea sortem
" Accepit galea: et primus clamore secundo
" Hyrtacidae ante omnes exit locus Hippocoontis;
" Quem modo navali Mnestheus certamine *[2] victor
" Consequitur."———

*[1] Ruaeus here, in his interpretation, turns this into the plural: and Dr. Trapp in a note on the place, says, that if any edition favoured his conjecture he should rather think it should be Dejectas Sortes the plural, for a reason too plain to be mentioned.—But they had not observed that Virgil at least never chooses to use this word in the plural, but when he is speaking of oracles or predictions, unless in Book VI. 22. which is likewise on a solemn mournful occasion.

*[2] " Who was victorious, a conqueror, one of the con- " querors, who got one of the prizes:" Either of these expressions answer Virgil's meaning; and therefore I am very much surprised that Dr. Trapp should except against the word, and not think it good sense. See his note on the place. The first part of this remark in answer to La Cerda is right; but I wish he had stopped there, without giving us the latter part.

VER. 568, 569.

" Alter Atys, genus unde * Atti duxere Latini:
" Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iülo."

* This is a compliment to Augustus, who, by his mother's side, was descended from the Atii; for Augustus's mother, Atia, was daughter to M. Atius Balbus by Julia, Julius Caesar's sister. As Julius Caesar is represented under the character of Ascanius, the alliance between Caesar's family and the Atian is prettily foretold and represented as in embryo in this verse;

" Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iülo."

The family of Atius was of Aricia. See Suetonius in Octav. et Vulpii Latium Vetus, tom. IV. p. 91.

VER. 731—735.

——— " Ditis tamen ante
" Infernas accede domos; et Averna per alta

"Congressus pete, nate, meos. Non me impia namque
"† Tartara habent, † tristesque umbrae; sed amoena piorum
"Consilia, Elysiumque colo."———

† Are not these the three divisions of Hades, that are described so much more distinctly in the next book? If so, the reading should be "Tristesve umbrae;" not "Tristesque umbrae," as in the Delphin edition; and much less not "Tartara habent, tristes umbrae;" as in Mattaire's.

VER. 738, 739.

———"Torquet † medios nox humida cursus,
"Et me saevus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis."

† There was a distinction that prevailed very early among the Romans, of the civil and the natural day. The natural day was most commonly reckoned from sunrise to sunset; the civil day, from midnight to midnight again. Virgil, in speaking personally of the latter, calls it Oriens: a name that was not much used in his time; but which he (as a professed lover of antiquity and of their antient words) chose to use, where it was more proper than Sol (or even Dies) would have been.

Macrobius, in speaking of this passage, says; "Virgilius "id ipsum ostendit, ut hominem decuit poëticas res agentem, "reconditâ atque opertâ veteris ritûs significatione:——his "enim verbis diem, quem Romani civilem appellavere, à sextâ "noctis horâ oriri admonet." Saturn. lib. I. c. iii.

VER. 743—745.

"Haec memorans, cinerem, et sopitos suscitat ignes:
"Pergameumque Larem, et canae penetralia Vestae
"Farre pio et plenâ supplex veneratur * acerrâ."

* Acerra and Lanx were both used for the Thura, etc. in sacrifices; the former signifying a small dish or plate, the latter a large one, as is expressly said by Ovid:

"Nec, quae de parvâ Dîs pauper libat acerrâ
"Thura minus, grandi quam data lance, valent."
De Ponto, lib. IV. Ep. viii

VER. 813, 814.

"Tutus quos optas portus † accedet Averni:
"Unus erit tantum, amissum quem gurgite quaeret."

† Venus desires Neptune to grant Aeneas a safe voyage from Sicily to Latium (ver. 796—798.); and Neptune answers, that he shall come safe to the coast of Cumae:

"Tutus quos optas portus accedet Averni."

Is that a satisfactory answer to her request?

The Florentine manuscript reads it ACCEDIT. Will not that set it right? As if he had said; "He is going on to the port of "Avernus, as safely as you could wish: (and he shall go on as "safely the rest of his voyage)."——Nothing is more common in Virgil than this way of not mentioning expressly what may be easily inferred: it is one of the distinguishing differences between his and Homer's manner of writing.

* Mr. Spence informs me, that a very good Florentine manuscript has Accedit: and observes that, when Venus requests of Neptune for Aeneas,

——"Liceat Laurentem attingere Tybrim,"——

it is very odd that Neptune should promise only to bring him safe half way,——"Tutus portus accedet Averni:" and therefore imagines it should be Accedit.—By which Neptune assures her that her request is so far granted, that Aeneas is already entering into the port of Cumae: or rather that she might be assured he was as safe as if he was already arrived there; for it is plain by what follows that he was not yet arrived.—But, after all, I would rather choose to put the stop after Accedet, and construe Averni with Gurgite.

VER. 854—860.

"† Ecce Deus ramum Lethaeo rore madentem,
"Vique soporatum Stygiâ, super utraque quassat
"Tempora; cunctantique natantia lumina solvit.
"Vix primos inopina quies laxaverat artus:
"Et superincumbens, cum puppis parte revulsâ,
"Cumque * gubernac'lo, liquidas projecit in undas
"Praecipitem."———

† Virgil's account of Palinurus's death is in the strong oriental taste.—In this place it is said; "That a God took away all "his vigilance, tore off the rudder he should have guided, and "flung him overboard with it into the sea:" in another (VI. 351.) "That the God had nothing to do in it; but that it was wholly "owing to himself." There are frequent instances of the very same orientalism in Homer, and in the sacred writings.

* It is not improbable, that Virgil may here allude to an accident which happened to Augustus: "Aliâ tempestate in tra-"jectu bis conflictatus, primò inter Promontoria Peloponnesi "atque Aetoliae, rursus circa montes Ceraunios, utrobique "parte Liburnicarum demersâ, simulque ejus in quâ vehebatur "fusis armamentis, et gubernaculo diffracto." Sueton. in Aug.

AENEID THE SIXTH.

VER. 1—2.

" Sic fatur lacrymans : classique immittit habenas :
" Et tandem Euboïcis * Cumarum allabitur oris."

* Baiae was reckoned formerly the port of Cumae; and that Aeneas landed there appears from Ovid's account, who says expressly that he came to the shores of Cumae, leaving Naples to the right hand and Misenum to the left:

" Has ubi praeteriit et Parthenopeïa dextrâ
" Moenia deseruit; laevâ de parte canori
" Aeolidae tumulum, et loca foeta palustribus ulvis
" Littora Cumarum, vivacisque antra Sibyllae
" Intrat."——— Met. XIV. 105.

VER. 9—12.

" At pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo
" Praesidet, horrendaeque procul secreta *[1] Sibyllae,
" *[2] Antrum immane, petit: magnam cui mentem animumque
" Delius inspirat vates, aperitque futura."

*[1] In Virgil's account of Aeneas's preparation for his descent into hell, most people are apt to confound the Priestess of the Sibyl, and the Sibyl herself together.——The Priestess's name is Deïphobe, the daughter of Glaucus; which was not the name of any of the Sibyls.——The Sibyl herself was a Goddess; and as such required an introductress to her: and Scipio, in Silius Italicus (lib. XIII.), has the Priestess Autonoë to conduct him to this very Sibyl.——Virgil calls Deïphobe, generally, by the name of Sacerdos ; and the Sibyl, Vates, and Dea : Silius calls Autonoë only Vates; and the Sibyl, Vates, Major Vates, Magna Sacerdos, Veri facunda Sacerdos, Docta comes Triviae, Phoebei pectoris umbra Fatidica, Cymes anus, Virgo, Sibylla, and Umbra Sibyllae.——The Priestess comes to conduct Aeneas to the temple where the Sibyl was, ver. 35; and it is she that speaks to ver. 55: It is the Sibyl herself that speaks afterwards, from ver. 82 to 155. The Priestess appears again ver. 244; and is succeeded again by the Sibyl, from ver. 258 to the end.

The whole course of the thing is thus:

Aeneas puts in with his fleet near Cape Miseno, ver. 2. He

sets out from thence for Cumae; and stops in the portico of Apollo's temple there, whilst Achates goes for the Priestess, ver. 13. She comes, ver. 35; and introduces him into the temple, ver. 41; where he makes his prayer, ver. 56; and has the answer from the Sibyl herself, ver. 83, etc. who orders him to search for the Golden Bough; and to bury the person, who lies dead in his fleet. He returns; and finds that person to be Misenus, ver. 162.

Aeneas himself assists in getting the wood for Misenus's funeral pile, ver. 183, which, at the same time, occasions his finding the Golden Bough, ver. 187. He carries it to the Sibyl, ver. 211; and returns to pay his last rites to Misenus, ver. 232.

Aeneas goes to the lake of Avernus, ver. 236, between his fleet and the city of Cumae, and is met there by the Priestess, ver. 244. They perform the sacrifice, ver. 250. The Sibyl comes, ver. 258; and leads the way, ver. 262, through the cave, to hell.

*[2] The Sibyl's Grot, (as it is called), by which Virgil makes Aeneas descend into hell, has one opening by the Lake Avernus; and had another at Cumae: and there was a passage went all under the hill from one to the other.—— † Virgil makes Aeneas go quite through it, by his perpetual way of inferring things, rather than saying them directly: and then return the nearest way (ver. 900.) to his fleet, and set sail for Caieta. Ovid says expressly, that he came out at Cumae:

> " Talia convexum per iter memorante Sibyllâ,
> " Sedibus Euboïcam Stygiis emergit in urbem
> " Troïus Aeneas; sacrisque à more litatis
> " Litora adit nondum nutricis habentia nomen."
>
> Met. XIV. 157.

Mr. Holdsworth had some thoughts of publishing an exact map of all that part of the country that lies between Cape Miseno and Gaëta; which would be the best comment on a great part of the Sixth Aeneid, or at least help to illustrate it much better than any of the commentators have done.

* Augustus shewed particular regard to the oracles of the Sibyl.—Strabo, speaking of the oracle of Jupiter Ammon in Afric, tells us that it was entirely neglected in his time: Των Ῥωμαιων αρκουμενων τοις Σιβυλλης χρησμοις και τοις Τυῤῥηνικοις θεοπροπιοις δια τε σπλαγχνων, και ορνιθειας, και διοσημειων. Lib. xvii. And Suetonius, speaking De Pontificatu Augusti, says; " Quic-" quid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis nullis " vel parum idoneis auctoribus vulgò ferebatur, supra duo " millia contracta undique cremavit: at solos retinuit Sibyllinos " (hos quoque delectu habito) condiditque duobus forulis " auratis sub Palatini Apollinis basi."

VER. 20—23.

" * In foribus, letum Androgeo: tum pendere poenas
" Cecropidae jussi (miserum!) septena quotannis
" Corpora natorum: stat ductis sortibus urna.
" Contra elata mari respondet Gnosia tellus."

* We are to consider this as a sculpture, where Crete is to be shewn at a great distance from Athens, in a farther corner of the piece, and represented in relief; the sea, in a plainer surface, lying between.—The parts of the piece are very well disposed.

The folding doors of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill, built by Augustus, were adorned in like manner with stories in relief; as we find by Propertius (lib. II. El. 29.) here alluded to.

" Et valvae Lybici nobile dentis opus.
" Altera, dejectos Parnassi vertice Gallos;
" Altera, moerebat funera Tantalidos.
" Deinde inter Matrem Deus ipse interque Sororem
" Pythius in longâ carmina veste sonat:
" Illic aspicias scopulis haerere Sorores,
" Et canere antiqui dulcia furta Jovis:
" Ut Semele est combustus; ut est deperditus Io;
" Denique ut ad Trojae tecta volavit Avis."

Fores in this place cannot mean the doors of the temple, but some outward part leading to the temple: for Virgil makes his hero amuse himself with perusing the history of Daedalus carved there, whilst Achates was gone to call the Priestess. She afterwards, " vocat alta in templa:" after which it is said; " Ventum erat ad limen." And again afterwards, " Ante " fores." These last Fores cannot be the same with the former The latter may signify properly the doors of the inner or principal part of the temple, where the oracles were given (the Sanctum Sanctorum, as I may call it); the former Fores must mean the first approach to the temple. See Georg. III. ver. 26. and Aen. I. ver. 509.

VER. 24—26.

" Hic crudelis amor Tauri, suppostaque furto
" Pasiphaë, mistumque genus, prolesque † biformis
" Minotaurus inest; Veneris monumenta nefandae."

† The Minotaur is represented in antiques as mostly human, but with the head of a bull. Mr. Dryden, in his translation of this passage, has just reversed the form of him; for he says,

" The lower part a beast, a man above."

Such of the antients as describe the form of the Minotaur most exactly, agree with the antient artists.

——— " Minoï brachia Tauri."
Stat. Achil. I. 192.

——— " Theseus
" Centum urbes umbone gerit, centenaque Cretae
" Moenia: seque ipsum monstrosi ambagibus antri
" Hispida torquentem luctantis colla juvenci:
" Alternasque manus circum, et nodoso ligantem
" Brachia, et abducto vitantem cornua vultu."
Theb. XII. 671.

Ενεμοντο αυτην ανθρωποι αγριοι, βουκεφαλοι, κερατα εχοντες· οιον παρ' ημιν τον Μινοταυρον αναπλαττουσι. Lucian's True Hist. lib. II. p. 407. ed. Bourdelotii.

VER. 33—36.

——— " Quin protinus omnia
" Perlegerent oculis: ni jam praemissus Achates
" Afforet; atque unà Phoebi Triviaeque * sacerdos,
" † Deïphobe Glauci."———

* That Virgil, by Sacerdos, means a Priestess attending on the Sibyl, is manifest by his whole account; for at Cumae the Sacerdos comes to Aeneas, and is conversing some time with him; whilst the Sibyl is within in the cell, and does not appear till the doors open. Again afterwards, at the lake Averno, the Priestess with Aeneas performs the sacrifices in the night, in the absence of the Sibyl, and then she appears; for Virgil expressly says that after the sacrifices were performed,

" Ecce autem, primi sub lumina solis et ortus,
" Sub pedibus mugire solum, etc.———
" Adventante Deâ."———

Without this distinction between the Vates and Sacerdos, that is, between the Sibyl and the Priestess, this whole passage would be very unintelligible. It is true that afterwards in hell, on the banks of Acheron, he calls the Sibyl " longaeva Sacerdos."

† The name of the Priestess is Deïphobe, that of the Cumaean Sibyl was Demo. Pausanias, p. 828. (ed. Khunii, 1696.)

Silius Italicus imitates Virgil in this, as in many other things. The name of his inferior Priestess is Autonoë. See latter part of the note on ver. 237. posth.

VER. 51—53.

——— "Cessas in vota precesque
"Tros, ait, Aenea? cessas? neque enim ante dehiscent
"* Attonitae magna ora domûs."———

* Ruaeus's interpreting "Attonitae domûs" by "Antri "terrifici," and supposing this epithet given to the cave, "quia "attonitos ac trepidos facit," is very unpoetical. The Poet's thought is certainly to make the house convulsed, as well as the Priestess. The parallel he makes of Death being called Pallida, "quia pallorem inducit," is likewise wrong. When Horace says, "Pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede;" he must make Death personal to knock at the door; and if Death appears in person, it ought to be Pallida.

VER. 98—101.

"Talibus ex adyto dictis Cumaea Sibylla
"Horrendas canit ambages, antroque remugit,
"Obscuris vera involvens: ea * fraena furenti
"Concutit, et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo."

* So Lucan, in speaking of the Priestess of Delphi, says;

"Accipit et fraenos; nec tantum prodere vati,
"Quantum scire, licet."——— Lib. V. 176.

VER. 106, 107.

——— "Quando hic inferni janua regis
"Dicitur, et tenebrosa palus * Acheronte refuso."

* This lake, called Acherusia, lies between Cumae and Misenum. So Strabo describes it: Πλησιον δε της Κυμες το Μισηνον ακρωτηριον, και εν τω μεταξυ Αχερυσια λιμνη, της θαλασσης αναχυσις τις τεναγωδης. It is a different lake from the Avernus; and Silius Italicus, as well as Virgil, speaks of it as such, lib. XII. where, after having described Avernus, he adds;

"Hinc vicina palus (fama est Acherontis ad undas
"Pandere iter) caecas stagnante voragine fauces
"Laxat; et horrendos aperit telluris hiatus,
"Interdumque novo perturbat lumine Manes."

† Mr. Holdsworth also refers to Mr. Pope's Odyssey, B. X. note on ver. 602. That note is on the directions for Ulysses's descent to hell.

"This whole scene is excellently imagined by the Poet, as "Eustathius observes; the trees are all barren, the place is "upon the shores where nothing grows; and all the rivers are

" of a melancholy signification, suitable to the ideas we have " of those infernal regions. Ulysses arrives at this place, where " he calls up the shades of the dead, in the space of one day; " from whence we may conjecture, that he means a place that " lies between Cumae and Baiae, near the lake Avernus in " Italy; which, as Strabo remarks, is the scene of the necro- " mancy of Homer, according to the opinion of antiquity. He " further adds, that there really are such rivers as Homer men- " tions, though not placed in their true situation; according to " the liberty allowed to poetry. Others write, that the Cim- " merii once inhabited Italy, and that the famous cave of Pausi- " lypo was begun by them about the time of the Trojan wars: " Here they offered sacrifice to the Manes, which might give " occasion to Homer's fiction. The Grecians, who inhabited " these places after the Cimmerians, converted these dark habi- " tations into stoves, baths, etc.

" Silius Italicus writes, that the Lucrine lake was antiently " called Cocytus, lib. XII.

" Ast hic Lucrino mansisse vocabula quondam
" Cocyti memorat.———

" It is also probable, that Acheron was the antient name of " Avernus, because Acherusia, a large water near Cumae, flows " into it by concealed passages. Silius Italicus informs us, that " Avernus was also called Styx.

" Ille olim populis dictum Styga, nomine verso,
" Stagna inter celebrem nunc mitia monstrat Avernum."

" Here Hannibal offered sacrifice to the Manes, as it is recorded " by Livy; and Tully affirms it from an antient Poet, from " whom he quotes the following fragment:

" Inde in viciniâ nostrâ Averni lacus
" Unde animae excitantur obscurâ umbrâ,
" Alti Acherontis aperto ostio."———

Ver. 125—126.

" Tunc sic orsa loqui vates: Sate sanguine Divûm,
" Tros Anchisiade, † facilis descensus Averni," etc.

† " Omnia proclivia sunt; facilè descenditur: itaque quam- " vis podagricus esset, momento temporis pervenit ad januam " Ditis." Seneca, Apoth. Claudii.

Ver. 140—144.

——— " Non antè datur telluris operta subire,
" Auricomos quâm quis decerpserit arbore foetus;

"Hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus
"Instituit. Primo avulso non deficit alter
"Aureus, et simili frondescit * virga metallo."

* Mercury by his Caduceus opens and shuts the gates of hell; and therefore very properly puts a bough or twig into Ulysses's hand, when he was going into those regions. The power of the Divine Rod was grown into a proverb amongst the Romans, as appears from Cicero: "Quod si omnia nobis, quae ad victum "cultumque pertinent, quasi Virgulâ Divinâ (ut aiunt) suppe- "ditantur," Offic. lib. I.—The most antient histories, sacred and profane, give us sufficient testimonies of the use of the Virga, on solemn occasions.

VER. 182—188.

——— "Advolvunt ingentes montibus ornos.
"Nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus
"Hortatur socios, paribusque accingitur armis.
"Atque haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat,
"Aspectans sylvam immensam, et sic ore precatur:
"Si * nunc se nobis illo aureus arbore ramus
"Ostendat nemore in tanto!"———

* The discovery of the Golden Bough, at the same time that Aeneas was seeking for timber in the woods for the funeral of Nisenus, is artfully interwoven.

VER. 203, 204.

——— "Gemina super arbore sidunt,
"Discolor unde auri per ramos * aura refulsit."

* Ruaeus explains the word Aura by Fulgor.—
So, possibly, Horace's

"Tua nè retardet
"Aura maritos." Lib. II. Od. viii. 24.

VER. 212—216.

"Nec minus interea Misenum in litore Teucri
"Flebant, *[1] et cineri ingrato suprema ferebant.
"Principio pinguem taedis et robore secto
"Ingentem struxere pyram: cui frondibus atris
"Intexunt latera, et *[2] ferales ante cupressos
"Constituunt."———

*[1] The solemn funeral of Misenus prepares the mind for the descent into hell; and Virgil likewise takes this opportunity of celebrating so remarkable a promontory near his favourite city, Naples.

*[2] Ovid alludes to the same custom, when he says:

" Funeris ara mihi ferali cincta cupressu
" Convenit."—— De Trist. lib. III. El. penult.

† Dr. Middleton says (Mon. p. 86.), " that it was customary " among the Romans, when any great man died, to have a cy- " press tree placed on each side of his door; and when the body " was carried out, these were carried after him in the funeral " procession. Hence Horace's;

" Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
" Uxor: neque harum, quas colis, arborum
" Te praeter invisas cupressos,
" Ulla brevem dominum sequetur." Lib. II. Od. xiv. 24.

VER. 237—242.

" † Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu,
" Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris;
" Quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
" Tendere iter pennis; talis sese halitus atris
" Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat;
" (Unde locum Graii dixerunt nomine Avernum.)"

† Virgil calls it Spelunca here, and Antrum, 268 posth. He describes it as near the lake of Avernus (238, etc.), with a wide opening (237 et 262), covered with dark woods (238;) and a dark passage afterwards, 270—272.

—— " Ad Avernales scopulos et opaca Sibyllae
" Antra."—— Stat. Sylv. V. iii. 173.

—— " Penitus via longa patescat
" Manibus egregiis. Eat," etc. Ib. III. iii. 28.

Statius mentions Baiae, the Tecta Sibyllae, and Misenus's Promontory together. Sylv. V. iii. 173.—See ib. IV. iii. 24 et 133.

Ovid's description of the Cave of Sleep (Met. XI. 592.), is much more like what they call the Sibyl's Grot at present, than this opening described by Virgil.

Quaer. Where that place Tacitus speaks of?—— " Nero, ut " erat incredibilium cupitor, effodere proxima Averno juga " connixus est; manentque vestigia irritae spei." Annal. lib. XV.

The entrance is more distinctly marked in Silius Italicus, lib. XIII. Scipio goes to Autonoë the priestess of Apollo: she tells him what sacrifices he is to prepare; bids him come with them just after midnight, " ad fauces vicini Averni," the " turbida

"portae ostia Tartareae;" and promises to meet him there, and call forth the Sibyl. When he comes, he finds Autonoë within the cave. She performs part of the sacrifice. Scipio sees into hell; and talks with Appius: the Sibyl comes, and tastes the blood; and Autonoë goes away. The Sibyl foretells his future actions; describes hell to him; enables him to know the persons that taste the blood, and points out others to him. The Sibyl returns to the shades, and Scipio to his companions, lin. ult.

VER. 243—247.

"*[1] Quatuor hic primum nigrantes terga juvencos
"Constituit, frontique invergit vina sacerdos;
"Et, summas carpens media inter cornua setas,
"Ignibus imponit sacris libamina prima,
"Voce vocans *[2] Hecaten, caeloque Ereboque potentem."

*[1] See Mr. Pope's account of the antient sacrifices, in his Remarks on the Odyssey: B. XIV. ver. 469, and other places of Homer.

*[2] Hecate and Diana are the same Deity; not Proserpina, as Ruaeus thinks; which immediately appears by ver. 251. And Statius, in his Balneum Etrusci, Sylv. I. 5. expressly calls Diana by the name Hecate.

"Hîc velox Hecate velit et deprensa lavari:"

alluding to the story of Actaeon.

VER. 249—251.

——— "Ipse atri velleris agnam
"Aeneas * matri Eumenidum magnaeque sorori
"Ense ferit; sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam."

* Silius Italicus, on the like occasion, makes this sacrifice to Alecto and Megaera.

"Inde tibi, Alecto; tibi, nunquam laeta Megaera," etc.
Lib. III.

VER. 285—289.

"Multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum,
"Centauri in foribus stabulant, † Scyllaeque biformes;
"Et centum geminus Briareus, ac Bellua Lernae
"Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera:
"Gorgones, Harpyiaeque, et forma tricorporis umbrae."

† The word Scyllae is sometimes used for any thing of a con-

fused and imaginary make.—Lucretius speaks of them in the same manner:

" Centauros itaque, et Scyllarum membra videmus,
" Cerbereasque canum facies."——— IV. 737.

that is, we make these odd mixtures of animals in our own fancy. He speaks of them again, V. 876—892.

*

Ver. 298, 299.

" Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
" Terribili * squalore Charon."

* Mr. Holdsworth here refers to Note the first, Book XI. of Mr. Pope's edition of Homer's Odyssey. Where Mr. Pope says;

' I will take this opportunity briefly to mention the original ' of all these fictions of infernal rivers, judges, etc. spoken of ' by Homer, and repeated and enlarged by Virgil. They are ' of Aegyptian extract, as Mr. Sandys (that faithful traveller, ' and judicious poet) observes, speaking of the mummies of ' Memphis,' p. 134.

" These ceremonies performed, they laid the corpse in a boat " to be wafted over Acherusia, a lake on the south of Mem- " phis, by one only person, whom they called Charon; which " gave Orpheus the invention of his infernal ferryman; an ill- " favoured slovenly fellow, as Virgil describes him, Aen. VI. " About this lake stood the shady temple of Hecate, with the " ports of Cocytus and Oblivion, separated by bars of brass, " the original of like fables. When landed on the other side, " the bodies were brought before certain judges; if convinced " of an evil life, they were deprived of burial; if otherwise, " they suffered them to be interred."——This explication shews the foundation of those antient fables of Charon, Rhadamanthus, etc. and also that the poets had a regard to truth in their inventions, and grounded even their fables upon some remarkable customs, which grew obscure and absurd only because the memory of the customs to which they allude is lost to posterity.

Ver. 378, 379.

—— " * Tua finitimi longè latèque per urbes,
" Prodigiis acti caelestibus, ossa piabunt."

* Markland, in his notes on Statius, taking occasion to quote these two verses, attacks them in the following furious manner—" Qui locus, nisi omnia me fallunt, insigni absurdi- " tate foetus est. Si enim *Finitimi*, quomodo *Longe lateque* " *per urbes?* idem ac si dixisset, *Finitimi* longinque piabunt

" tua ossa: quod sanè mirum ducerem, nisi quod nihil mirum " habendum est in poëmate tam imperfecto." See Markland's Statius, lib. III. 127.—This critic ought to have been sure that this was a blunder in Virgil, not in himself, before he brought so severe a charge against him as he does in this place, and likewise at the latter end of his preface. For my part I see no absurdity in the passage. Virgil makes the Sybil comfort Palinurus by assuring him that the people bordering on the shore, where he was murdered, should be persecuted by judgments from heaven, *throughout all* the cities of their territories; and be therefore compelled to expiate his death, and to perform his funeral rites, and erect a monument to his memory. Supposing Virgil to have said *finitimi* simply, without any other addition, this word, strictly speaking, might have meant only the nearest inhabitants; perhaps a few fishermen in their huts: but Virgil is to be understood in a larger sense. All Lucania suffered for the death of Palinurus, as appears by the passage quoted on this occasion by Mr. Markland from Servius. Therefore Finitimi must here mean, not barely the inhabitants next immediately adjoining, but the whole people of the adjoining province, who were punished throughout all their districts, far and near, which Virgil expresses by " Longè la- " tèque per urbes."

VER. 412—416.

——— " Simul accipit alveo
" Ingentem Aeneam. Gemuit sub pondere cymba
" Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.
" Tandem trans fluvium incolumes vatemque virumque
" Informi limo glaucaque exponit in ulva."

* See Montfaucon, tom. IV. part. II. l. ii. c. 2.—Leather boats are now used in several places in England and Wales, and called Coracles. But Lucan tells us, that the boats used by the Aegyptians, when the Nile overflowed, were made of Papyrus:

——— " Sic cum tenet omnia Nilus,
" Conseritur bibulâ Memphitis cymba papyro."
Lib. IV. 135.

And as it is generally allowed that the poets in their stories concerning the infernal regions alluded to customs in Aegypt, it is probable that Virgil chooses the same sort of boat as was used on the Nile.

VER. 417—423.

" Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
" Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.

"Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
"Melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
"Objicit: ille fame rabidâ † tria guttura pandens,
"Corripit objectam; atque immania terga resolvit
"Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro."

† So Ovid;

——— "Nec uti villosa colubris
"Terna Medusaei vincirem guttura monstri."

Met. X. ver. 22. (of Orpheus).

And Horace;

"Cessit immanis tibi blandienti
"Janitor aulae
"Cerberus: quamvis furiale centum
"Muniant angues caput ejus: atque
"Spiritus teter, saniesque manet
"Ore trilingui."

Lib. III. Od. xi. ver. 2. (of Mercury's great descent into hell).

He is also represented with snakes about his neck, in the Vatican Virgil. See Pol. pl. XXXVII. i. and XXXVIII. i.

Ver. 434—437.

"Proxima deinde tenent moesti loca: qui sibi letum
"Insontes peperêre manu, lucemque perosi
"* Projecêre animas. Quam vellent aethere in alto
"Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!"

* Projicere signifies properly to cast off or throw away as vile and contemptible.——See Lucan, VI. 626.

"Corpora caesorum tumulis projecta negatis;"

and in many other places.

Ver. 459—462.

——— "Per sidera juro,
"Per superos, et si qua fides tellure sub imâ est,
"Invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi:
"Sed me jussa Deûm, quae * nunc has ire per umbras,
"Per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
"Imperiis egêre suis."———

* A fine thought is couched here, for this insinuates to Dido, that leaving her was hell to him; and that only those powers which sent him hither could have forced him to quit her.

Ver. 570—579.

"Continuò sontes ultrix accincta flagello
"Tisiphone quatit insultans: tortosque sinistrâ

" Intentans angues, vocat agmina saeva sororum.
" * Tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae
" Panduntur portae. Cernis, custodia qualis
" Vestibulo sedeat? facies quae limina servet?
" Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
" †[1] Saevior intus habet sedem: tum Tartarus ipse
" †[2] Bis patet in praeceps tantùm, tenditque sub umbras;
" Quantus ad aethereum caeli suspectus Olympum."

* This break is wrong. Virgil does not intend to open the gates of hell to give his hero a view of the horrid scene within, as some of the commentators understand it; but means, that after the criminals are tried and found guilty, they are conducted by the Furies to the gates, which open to receive them. The scene is described by Sibylla.

†[1] Fiercer than the common Hydra, the Bellua Lernae; which he places without; " primis in faucibus Orci." Ver. 273 et 287, anteh.

†[2] Homer makes it as far from earth to hell downwards, as it is upwards from earth to heaven: it has been observed, that two of the best Poets since have enlarged it gradually, Virgil to twice, and Milton to thrice that depth: but, if I mistake not, Hesiod of old has carried the mind further than either of them: it would please you to see how exact he is in his measures: " An anvil," says he, " will be nine days complete in " falling from heaven to earth; and as many in falling from " our earth to Tartarus." Θεογ. ver 722.——This is the distance from us to the gates of Tartarus only: he afterwards carries the mind much farther, in this description:

" There lie the treasures of the stormy deep
" Of earth, and water, and extended darkness.
" A dreadful chasm! squalid and uninform'd,
" And hateful ev'n to Gods. Whoe'er, within
" The dreadful op'ning of its gates, should plunge
" Prone thro' the great abyss; twelve times the course
" Of the pale moon, should feel its storm and tempest
" In dire descent; still hurry'd on precipitate,
" Amidst the various tumult and confusion
" Of disagreeing natures. Oft the pow'rs
" Immortal cast their eyes upon these regions,
" And shudder at the sight."——— Θεογ. 744

From Essay on Mr. Pope's Odyssey; Evening V. p. 253.

VER. 601—607.

" Quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona, Pirithoümque?
" Quos super atra silex jamjam lapsura, cadentique

"Imminet assimilis. Lucent genialibus altis
"Aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae
"Regifico luxu: Furiarum † maxima juxta
"Accubat, et manibus prohibet contingere mensas;
"Exurgitque facem attollens, atque intonat ore."

† It appears from Statius, that this Fury (whom Virgil does not name) was Megaera.

——— "Ultrix tibi torva Megaera
"Jejunum Phlegyam, subter cava saxa jacentem,
"Aeterno premit accubitu; dapibusque profanis
"Instimulat: sed mista famem fastidia vincunt."
Theb. I. ver. 715.

Virgil on this occasion calls her Furiarum maxima; which may signify either a chief, or the chief, of the Furies; but, considering her sisters' characters (who are, at least, her equals), I think it should be taken in the former sense here.

Ver. 656—659.

"Conspicit ecce alios dextrâ laevâque per herbam
"Vescentes, laetumque choro paeana canentes,
"Inter † odoratum lauri nemus: unde supernè
"Plurimus Eridani per sylvam volvitur amnis."

† This is, I think, the most pleasing idea in all Virgil's Elysium: and, possibly, he had an eye in it to the famous valley of Tempe in Thessaly, reckoned the most delightful spot in the whole world; and beautified, in particular, by the fall of the river Peneus, from mount Pindus; with woods on each side of it. (See Ovid's Met. lib. I. ver. 568 to 572.)

May I add another conjecture here, which would yet give farther beauty to this part in Virgil's Elysium? It is, that he may possibly mean, that the groves on each side of his cascade are groves of orange-trees; and consequently as pleasing in their smell as in their look. Orange-trees were first brought into Italy in Virgil's time. As they were so lately introduced among them, the Romans had as yet no name for them; and it is therefore that Virgil, where he is supposed by some very good judges to speak of this tree in his Georgics, is forced to point it out, by a good deal of circumlocution; and by describing it very particularly. It is a tree which, according to his account, was brought into Italy from Media, whose fruit had a sharp, sour taste; he says, that it was very good for the stomach and breath, and an excellent remedy against infections and poisons; that it was a large tree (as the orange-trees are much larger in Italy than with us, and much larger in Media than in Italy);

that the leaf of it was very much like the leaf of the laurel; but that it was distinguished from the laurel, by its lasting flowers, and by the fine perfume that they cast all around it. (Georg. lib. II. ver. 126 to 135.) As they had then no distinct name for orange-trees, Virgil may here call them laurels, from their likeness to that tree; but, at the same time, he takes care to distinguish them from the common laurel, by mentioning the most striking character of them, their fine smell: "Odoratum "lauri nemus."

Ver. 660—665.

" Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi;
" Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat;
" Quique pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti;
" Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes;
" Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo:
" Omnibus his niveâ cinguntur tempora * vittâ."

* Canini, in his Iconografia, plate XXVII, on Homer's medals, observes thus: "Tiene il capello ligato da una fascia.—Era " questa fascia di lana candida, come si comprende dalle parole " di Platone quando vuole che nella sua republica non si riceva " il Poeta; ma si bene, come cosa maravigliosa s'honori, spar- " gendovi sopra il capo unguenti odoriferi e coronandoli di " lana. Unguentum in caput ejus effundentes, lanâque coro- " nantes." And then adds, "Virgilio dice portarsi questa " candida banda in segno di celeste honore:" and quotes these verses; "Quique Sacerdotes," etc.

Ver. 719—721.

" O pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
" Sublimes animas? iterumque ad tarda reverti
" Corpora? quae † lucis miseris tam dira cupido?"

† This may shew that Virgil had nobler notions of life and death than Homer; as Lucan has nobler than either of them.

Ver. 724—727.

" * Principio caelum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
" Lucentemque globum Lunae, Titaniaque astra
" Spiritus intus alit; totamque infusa per artus
" Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."

* See Dr. Trapp's excellent remarks on this place, ver. 933 of his translation.

VER. 756—759.

" * Nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur
" Gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,
" Illustres animas, nostrumque in nomen ituras,
" Expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo."

* See Dr. Trapp's note on this place, to which may be added what I have observed, Georg. III. ver. 27.

VER. 830—835.

" *[1] Aggeribus socer Alpinis, atque arce *[2] Monoeci
" Descendens, gener adversis instructus Eoïs!
" Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella:
" Neu patriae validas in viscera vertite vires.
" Tuque *[3] prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo:
" Projice tela manu, sanguis meus."———

*[1] Aggeribus, very properly; the Alpes being always looked upon as the ramparts of Italy. So Tully, in Orat. in L. Pisonem, calls them Alpium vallum; and Philippicâ 5ta, Alpium murum. " Ejus furorem ne Alpium quidem muro " prohibere possemus."

*[2] See Lucan's description, lib. I. ver. 405.

Lucan does not explain where Caesar passed the Alpes when he went from Gaul to the Rubicon; he only says in short, lib. I. ver. 183,

" Jam gelidas Caesar cursu superaverat Alpes."

But it is pretty evident from other places in Lucan, that the passes of the Maritimae Alpes, that is, the passes between Provence and Italy, were known to J. Caesar; for when he marched from Italy into Spain, after Pompey's retirement from Brundusium, he passed the Alpes, and came directly to Marseilles.

" Agmine nubiferam rapto superevolat Alpem:
" Cumque alii famae populi terrore paverent,
" Phocaïs in dubiis ausa est servare juventus
" Non Graiâ levitate fidem," etc.———
Lucan. lib. III. 299.

A very noble trophy was raised to Augustus at Torbia near Monaco; of which see an account in Théatre des Etats du Duc de Savoye, vol. II. The ruins of this trophy are still seen on a hill about three miles above Monaco, and are very considerable; appearing, as one sees them at a little distance from sea, like the Torre Magne at Nismes.

Caesar himself tells us in his Commentaries, at the end of the first book of the Civil War, that after his conquest of Petreius and Afranius, he sent his army into Italy by the river Var: "Ex Hispaniâ ad Varum flumen est iter factum." De Bell. Civ. lib. I. From whence the road goes through the territory of the Prince of Monaco.

*[3] We are informed by History, that, before the Civil War actually broke out, Caesar offered, by his friends at Rome, and by letters to the Senate, to lay down his command, upon condition that Pompey was obliged to do the same. See Appian, de Bell. Civ. lib. II. from p. 735 to 740. edit. Tollii. See likewise Plutarch's Lives of Caesar and Pompey. N. B. Appian tells us, that when Caesar had passed the Rubicon after his proposals were rejected; "Senatus nec opinatâ impressione "Caesaris territus, ut imparatus, sibi metuebat, non admissa-"rum Caesaris conditionum aequissimarum tum demum poeni-"tens, postquam timor à contentione eos ad recta consilia tra-"duxerat." p. 740.

VER. 841, 842.

"Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum; aut te, Cosse, relinquat?
"Quis Gracchi genus? aut geminos, duo † fulmina belli,
"Scipiadas?"———

† There is perhaps no one word in the whole Roman language, whose signification is more distinctly determined by their antient writers themselves, than that of the word Fulmen. One could give several absolute definitions of it, in their own words.——"Si in nube luctetur flatus aut vapor, toni-"trua edi; si erumpat ardens, fulmina; si longiore tractu ni-"tatur, fulgetra." Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. II. c. xliii.

"Quum autem se in nubem induerint, ejusque tenuissimam "quamque partem coeperint dividere ac disrumpere, idque "crebriùs facere et vehementiùs, tum et fulgores et tonitrua "existere: si autem *nubium conflictu ardor expressus se emi-"serit, id esse fulmen.*" Cicero, de Divin. lib. II. § 64.

——— "Igneus ille
"Vortex, quod patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen."
Lucretius, VI. ver. 297.

When we are taught (as we generally are) to translate the word Fulmen by the word Thunder, we use a word that is apt to give an idea of noise, without any idea of the light, for a Latin word which gave an idea of light, without any idea of the noise.

This mistake is very apt to make people lose the beauty of several passages in the old Roman writers; as, for instance,

where Cicero speaks of the "fulmina verborum," or Virgil calls the two Scipios the "duo fulmina belli."

The meaning of Virgil in this expression is opened to us, more at large, in a simile of Lucan's; which, by the way, is one of the best, perhaps, in the whole Pharsalia. It is where he is giving us the character of Julius Caesar, toward the opening of that poem.

" Acer, et indomitus, quô spes quôque ira vocasset
" Ferre manum; et nunquam temerando parcere ferro;
" Successus urgere suos, instare favori
" Numinis, impellens quicquid sibi summa petenti
" Obstaret; gaudensque viam fecisse ruinâ.
" Qualiter expressum ventis per nubila fulmen
" Aetheris impulsi sonitu mundique fragore
" Emicuit, rupitque diem; populosque paventes
" Terruit, obliquâ praestinguens lumina flammâ:
" In sua templa furit; nullâque exire vetante
" Materiâ, magnamque cadens magnamque revertens
" Dat stragem latè, sparsosque recolligit ignes."
Lib. I. ver. 157.

Where Mr. Pope makes use of the same image to point out the particular character of the late Earl of Peterborough;

—— " He, whose lightning pierc'd th' Iberian lines;"

how much of the beauty and justice of it would have been lost, had he used the word thunder, instead of the word he has used?

VER. 847—853.

" † Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
" Credo equidem; vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
" Orabunt causas melius; caelique meatus
" Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent:
" Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
" Hae tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem;
" Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."

† The Romans did not stick at owning, that the Greeks exceeded them in all the polite arts, and in every branch of literature. This passage is a remarkable proof of it; and one might load several pages with others from their writers both in verse and prose.—The Roman arts were the arts of war and government. " Ego Romanis artibus, virtute, opere, armis, " vincam," says Camillus to the Schoolmaster of Falisci: Liv. lib. V. § xxvii.——" Ut virtutis a nostris, sic doctrinae sunt ab illis exempla repetenda:" Cic. de Orat. lib. III. § cxxxvi.

VER. 872—874.

" Quantos ille virûm magnam Mavortis ad urbem
" Campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis
" Funera, cum † tumulum praeterlabere * recentem!"

† Part of the sepulchre, in which the ashes of Marcellus were deposited (and which was built by Augustus, for Julius Caesar, himself, and the rest of his family), is still remaining. It stands in the Campus Martius, near the banks of the Tyber; and when one sees it, puts one strongly in mind of these verses of Virgil, where he speaks of the funeral of that prince. It is what they now call the Mausoleum Augusti.

* " Tumulum recentem;" the Mausoleum lately built by Augustus for his family. Suetonius says; " Id opus inter Fla- " miniam viam ripamque Tyberis sexto suo consulatu extruxe- " rat." Marcellus died in the 11th Consulship of Augustus; and was probably the first of the family, who took possession of this noble Mausoleum; as appears by the following epigram, quoted by Nardini:

" Condidit Agrippam, quo te, Marcelle, sepulcro,
" Et cepit generos jam locus iste duos," etc.

This occasioned the epithet Recentem.——See the description of this Mausoleum by Strabo.

VER. 893—896.

" Sunt geminae Somni * portae: quarum altera fertur
" Cornea, quâ veris facilis datur exitus umbris:
" Altera, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
" Sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia Manes."

* Statius mentions the gates of hell at the end of his Epicedion ad Patrem:

" Inde tamen venias melior, quà porta malignum
" Cornea vincit ebur; Somnique in imagine monstra.
" Quae solitus."——— Sylv. lib. V. iii. 288.

WARBURTON'S EXAMINATION

OF THE

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Our subject having necessarily engaged us in a large historical account of the Mysteries; yet the form of the discourse not having afforded us an opportunity hitherto to take notice of their Shews and Representations, one of the most important parts of the Mysteries, and the only one remaining unspoken to; Virgil, in affording us a fresh proof of the sentiments of the best and wisest amongst the antients, concerning the service of the doctrine of a future state to society, will give us the opportunity we sought for: so that nothing will now be wanting to a thorough intelligence of this curious and interesting circumstance of antiquity.

We hope, then, to make it very evident, that the masterpiece of the Aeneis, the famous sixth book, is nothing else but a description, and so designed by the author, of his hero's initiation into the Mysteries; and of one part of the Spectacles of the Eleusinian: where every thing was done in shew and machinery; and where a representation of the history of Ceres afforded opportunity of bringing in the scenes of Heaven, Hell, Elysium, Purgatory, and all that related to the future state of men and heroes.

But to make this, which hath at first sight so much the air of a paradox, the less shocking, it will not be improper to inquire into the nature of the Aeneis.

Homer's two poems had each a plain simple story, to convey as simple a moral; and in this kind he is justly esteemed excellent. Virgil could make no improvements here: the Greek poet was complete and perfect; so that the patrons of the

Roman, and even Scaliger himself, are confined to seek for his superior advantages in his episodes, descriptions, similes, and in the chastity and correction of his thoughts and diction; while all have overlooked the principal advantage he had over his great predecessor. He found the Epic Poem in possession of the first rank of human compositions; but this did not satisfy his large ambition: he was not content that its subject should be to instruct the world in morals, much less in physics, which was the ridiculous imagination of some antients, though he was fond of those inquiries, but aspired to make it a system of Politics. Accordingly the Aeneis is indeed as much such in verse, by example, as the republics of Plato and Tully were in prose, by precepts. Thus he advanced the Epic to a new state of perfection; and as Paterculus says of Menander,—"inveniebat, neque imitandum relinquebat." For though every one saw that Augustus was shadowed out in the person of Aeneas, yet imagining those political instructions, which were designed for the service of mankind at large, to be for the sole use of his master, they missed of its true nature: and in this ignorance, the succeeding epic writers, following a poem whose genius they did not understand, wrote worse than if they had only taken Homer, and his simple plan for their guides. A great modern Poet, and best judge of their merit, assures us of this fact; and what we have said helps to explain it: "The other epic poets," says this justly admired writer, "have used the same practice (that of Virgil, of running two fables into one) but generally carried it so far as to superinduce a multiplicity of fables, destroy the unity of action, and lose their readers in an unreasonable length of time.[a]"

Such was the revolution Virgil brought about in this noblest region of poetry; an improvement so great, that the sublimest genius had need of all the assistance the best poet could lend him: nothing less than the joint aid of the Iliad and Odyssey being able to furnish out the execution of his great idea: for a system of politics delivered in the example of a great prince, must shew him in every public circumstance of life. Hence was Aeneas, of necessity, to be found voyaging with Ulysses, and fighting with Achilles: and I am persuaded, that that great admirer of Virgil, and best imitator of his correctness, last quoted, will be pleased to find this the case, rather than what he assigns for his master's conduct, in the following words: "Virgil, for want of so warm a genius, aided himself by taking in a more extensive subject, as well as a greater length of time, and contracting the design of both Homer's poems into one[b]."

[a] Preface to the Iliad of Homer.
[b] See the same Preface.

But if the improved nature of his subject necessitated him to violate that simplicity in the fable which Aristotle, and his interpreter Bossu, find so divine in Homer[c]; he gained considerable advantages by it in other circumstances of the composition: For now, those ornaments and decorations, for whose insertion the critics could give no other reasons than raising the dignity of the poem, become necessarily inherent in the subject. Thus the choice of princes and heroes for actors of the scene, which were, before, only to grace it, now constitute the essence of the Poem[d]: and the machinery and intervention of the Gods, on every occasion, which were to create the marvellous, become, in this improvement, an indispensable part of the action. It is in the very spirit of antient legislation, as we find in the beginning of this book, where we see the principal care of the Lawgiver was to possess the people with the belief of a Providence. This then is the true reason of so much machinery in the Aeneis; for which modern critics accuse the author of want of judgment; as following Homer too closely in a poem wrote in the refined and enlightened age of Rome[e]. An excellent writer, and one who ought never to be mentioned but in terms of the highest esteem, speaking of the marvellous in Virgil: says, " If there be " any instance in the Aeneid liable to exception upon this account, " it is in the beginning of the third book, where Aeneas is repre- " sented as tearing up the myrtle that dropped blood. This cir- " cumstance seems to have the marvellous without the probable, " because it is represented as proceeding from natural causes " without the interposition of any God, or rather supernatural " power capable of producing it[f]." But when this amiable writer made this remark, he appears not to have recollected what Aeneas says on the occasion:

" Nymphas venerabar agrestes,
" Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis,
" Rite secundarent visus, omenque levarent."

[c] Nous ne trouverons point, dans la Fable de l' Eneide, cette simplicité qu' Aristote a trouvée si divine dans Homére.—*Traité du Poeme Epique.* l. 1. c 11.

[d] ——— " Le retour," says Bossu, " d'un homme en sa maison, et la querelle " de deux autres, n'ayant rien de grand en soi, deviennent des actions illustres et " importantes, lorsque dans le choix des noms, le Poete dit que c'est Ulysse qui " retourne en Ithaque, et que c'est Achille et Agamemnon qui querellent."—He goes on—" Mais il y a des actions qui d'elles mêmes sont tres importantes, " comme *l'establissement, ou la ruine d'un etat, ou d'une Religion.* Telle est donc " l'action de l'Eneide, l. 2. c. 19." He saw here a remarkable difference in the subjects: it is strange this should not have led him to see that the Aeneis is of a different species.

[e] Ce qui est beau dans Homére pourroit avoir été mal reçû dans les ouvrages d'un Poëte du tems d'Auguste. *Idem, ib.* l. 3. c. 8. *De l'admirable.*

[f] Mr. Addison's Works, vol. 3. p. 316. quarto edition, 1721.

Now these kind of omens, for there were two sorts[g], were always supposed to be produced by the intervention of a supernatural power; as was the raining of blood so frequently related by the Roman annalists. And the Poet was certainly within the bounds of the probable, while he told no more than what the gravest historians recorded in every page of their annals. But this was not done to make us stare. He is, as we observe, in a legislative capacity, and writes to possess the people of the interposition of the Gods, in omens and prodigies; which was in the method of the old Lawgivers. So Plutarch, as quoted above, tells us that "with divinations and omens Lycurgus sanctified the "Lacedaemonians, Numa the Romans, Ion the Athenians, and "Deucalion all the Greeks in general; and by hopes and fears "kept up in them the awe and reverence of Religion." The scene of this adventure is laid, with the utmost propriety, on the uncivilized, inhospitable shores of Thrace, to inspire horror for barbarous manners, and an inclination and appetite for civil policy.

On this account it is that our Poet here deserts the Mythologists, and makes the age of *civil Policy*, (the time when men were first brought out of a state of nature) *the golden age*, and Saturn to govern in it. Thus Evander says, (Lib. 8.)

"Haec nemora indigenae fauni nymphaeque tenebant—
"Queis neque mos, neque cultus erat; neque jungere tauros,
"Aut componere opes norant, aut parcere parto:
"Sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat.
"Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo,—
"Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis,
"Composuit legesque dedit."

[g] Ulysses, in Homer, mentions both these sorts in the following lines:

Ζευς πάτερ, εἴ μ'———
Φήμην τίς μοι φάσθω ἐγειρομένων ἀνθρώπων
Ἔνδοθεν, ἔκτοσθεν δὲ Διὸς τέρας ἄλλο φανήτω.

But to be more particular, and exact; the word Omen in its proper sense signifies "futurae rei signum, quod ex sermone loquentis capitur." Tully says, l. 1. Divin. "Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observarunt, sed etiam hominum "quae vocant Omina." This sort of Omen was supposed to depend much upon the will of the person concerned in it. Hence the phrases "accepit omen, arripuit "omen." This, as we say, was its primary and proper signification. It was afterwards applied to things, as well as words. So Paterculus speaking of the head of Sulpicius, on the rostrum, says it was "velut omen imminentis proscrip- "tionis." And Suetonius of Augustus, "Auspicia quaedam et omina pro certis- "simis observabat. Si mane sibi calceus perperam, ac sinister pro dextero in- "duceretur, ut dirum:" It was used still in a larger sense, to signify an Augury, as by *Tully de div.* l. 1.

"Sic aquilae clarum firmavit Jupiter omen."

And lastly in the most generical sense of all, for a prodigy in general, as in the place before us. From hence it appears, as we said above, that Omens were of two sorts, the proper and improper; the proper sort was supposed to be natural; the improper sort, supernatural. But the Omen in question is of the latter kind.

Whereas Ovid, who speaks the sense of the Mythologists, makes the *golden age* to be *the state of nature*, and Saturn to govern there, before the erection of civil policy.

" Aurea prima sata est aetas, quae, vindice nullo,
" Sponte sua SINE LEGE fidem rectumque colebat.
" Poena metusque aberant: nec verba Minacia Fixo
" Aere legebantur; nec supplex turba timebant
" Judicis ora sui.——
" Ipsa quoque immunis rastroque intacta, nec ullis
" Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus:
" Contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis,
" Arbuteos foetus, montanaque fragra legebant,
" Cornaque et in duris haerentia mora rubetis,
" Et quae deciderant patulâ Jovis arbore glandes.
" Ver erat aeternum——
" Postquam Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso.—
" Tum primum subiere domos.—
" Semina tum primum longis Cerealia sulcis
" Obruta sunt, pressique jugo gemuere juvenci[h]."

For it served the grave purpose of the philosophic poet to decry the state of nature; and it suited the fanciful paintings of the mythologic poet to recommend it.

But everything in this poem points to great and public ends. The turning *the ships into sea-deities* in the IXth book, has the appearance of something infinitely more extravagant, than *the myrtle dropping blood*, and has been more generally and severely censured; and, indeed, if defended, it must be on other principles. The philosophic commentators on Homer's poem, had brought the fantastic refinement of allegory into great vogue. We may estimate the capacity of Virgil's judgment in not catching at so alluring a bait, by observing that some of the greatest of modern epic poets, who approached nearest to Virgil in genius, have been betrayed by it. Yet, here and there, our poet, to convey a political precept, has employed an ingenious allegory in passing. And the adventure in question is, I think, of this number. By the transformation of the ships into sea-deities, he would insinuate, I suppose, the great advantage of cultivating a naval power; such as extended commerce, and the dominion of the ocean; which in poetical language, is becoming deities of the sea.

" Mortalem eripiam formam, magnique jubebo
" Aequoris esse Deas."

He explains the allegory more clearly in the following book,

[h] Metam. Lib. I.

where he makes these transformed sea-nymphs accompany Aeneas, and his fleetof auxiliaries, through the Tyrrhene sea.

> " Atque illi medio in spatio chorus, ecce, suarum
> " Occurrit comitum; nymphae, quas alma Cybele,
> " Numen habere maris, nymphasque e navibus esse
> " Jusserat.——
> " Agnoscunt longè regem, lustrantque choreis."

This ministerial hint was the more important and seasonable, as all Octavius's traverses, in his way to empire, were from his want of a sufficient naval power; first, in his war with Brutus and Cassius, and afterwards with Sextus, the son of Pompey the Great. Nor was it at this time less flattering to Augustus; to whom the Alexandrians erected a magnificent temple, porticoes, and sacred groves, where he was worshipped under the title of Caesar, the Protector and Patron of Sailors. So he became a sea-god at the head of these goddesses. For, as one of his flatterers said—

> " Praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores:
> " Jurandasque tuum per nomen ponimus aras."

As the not taking the true scope of the Aeneis, has occasioned mistakes, to Virgil's disadvantage, concerning the Plan and Conduct of the Poem; so hath it likewise concerning the characters. The piety of Aeneas, and his high veneration for the Gods, so much offends a celebrated French writer [i], that he says " the hero was fitter to found a Religion than a Monarchy." But he did not know that the image of a perfect Lawgiver is held out to us in Aeneas; and had he known that, he had perhaps been ignorant, that it was the office of such to found Religions and Colleges of Priests, as well as States and Corporations. And that Virgil tells us this was his,

> " Dum conderet Urbem,
> " Inferretque Deos Latio."———

But his humanity as much offends our Critic as his piety, and he calls him a mere St. Swithin, always raining. The beauty of this representation escaped him. It was necessary to shew a perfect Lawgiver as touched with all the affections of humanity; and the example was the more to be enforced, because we experience vulgar Politicians but too much divested of these common notices. Nor is the view in which we place this Poem, less serviceable to the vindication of his other characters. The learned author of the inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, who hath now first initiated

[i] Monsieur De St. Evremont.

us into the mysteries of the Greek Poet, will forgive me for differing from him, in thinking that that uniformity of manners in the Aeneis was the effect of design, not, as he would have it, of custom and habit: "Virgil," says he, "had seen much "of the splendour of a Court, the magnificence of a Palace, "and the grandeur of a Royal Equipage: accordingly his re- "presentations of that part of life, are more august and stately "than Homer's. He has a greater regard to decency, and those "polished manners, that render men so much of a piece, and "make them all resemble one another in their conduct and be- "haviour[k]." For this work being a system of Politics, the eternity of a government, the form of a magistrature, and plan of dominion being, as this fine writer observes, familiar with the Roman Poet, nothing could be more to his purpose, than this representation of polished manners: it being the Legislator's office to tame and break men to humanity; and to make them disguise at least, if they cannot be brought to lay aside their savage manners.

But this key to the Aeneis not only clears up a great many passages obnoxious to the critics, but adds, an infinite beauty to a vast number of incidents throughout the whole poem.

Permit me only to observe, that this was the second species of the Epic poem; our own countryman, the great Milton, having produced the third: for just as Virgil rivalled Homer, so Milton emulated them both. He found Homer possessed of the province of Morality; Virgil of Politics; and nothing left for him but that of Religion. This he seized, as aspiring to share with them in the government of the poetic world. And, by means of the superior dignity of his subject, he hath got to the head of that Triumvirate which took so many ages in forming. These are the three species of the Epic Poem; for its largest province is human action, which can be considered but in a moral, a political, or religious view; and these the three great Creators of them; for each of these Poems was struck out at a heat, and came to perfection from its first essay. Here then the grand scene is closed, and all further improvements of the Epic at an end.

It being granted then, that the Aeneis is in the style of antient legislation, it is hard to think so great a master in his art would overlook a doctrine, that we have shewn, was the foundation and support of antient politics; namely, that of a future state of Rewards and Punishments. Accordingly, in imitation of his models, Plato and Tully, in their Vision of Erus and Dream of Scipio, he hath given us a complete system of it. Again, as the Legislator took care to support this doctrine by a very extraor-

[k] Page 325.

dinary institution and commemorated it therein, with all the pomp of spectacle; we cannot but confess a description of those Shews would add a peculiar grace and elegance to the poem; and that the pomp and solemnity of the representations would be apt to invite him to attempt it, as affording matter for all the embellishments of poetical description. Accordingly we say, he hath done this likewise; and, that the descent of Aeneas into Hell, is no other, than an enigmatical representation of his initiation into the Mysteries.

Virgil, in this poem, was to represent a perfect Lawgiver, in the person of Aeneas; but initiation into the Mysteries was what sanctified his character and function. For it was no wonder that the Legislator should endeavour by his own example, to ennoble an institution that was of his own creating: accordingly, we find all the antient Heroes and Legislators were initiated.

There was another reason for the Legislator's initiation, which held particularly with regard to the Greek Legislator's participation of the Egyptian Mysteries, and that was the important instructions he there received in matters of the highest moment concerning mankind, as we may see in the second Section of the third Book[l].

Now all this the Poet seems clearly to have intimated in the speech Anchises's Shade makes to his son.

——" Lectos Juvenes, fortissima corda,
" Defer in Italiam. Gens dura atque aspera cultu
" Debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante
" Infernas accede domos ———
" — Huc casta Sibylla
" Nigrarum multo pecudum te sanguine ducet,
" Tum genus omne tuum, et, quae dentur moenia disces[m]."

While the Mysteries were confined to their native country, Egypt; and while the Grecian Legislators went thither for initiation, as a kind of designation to their office; the ceremony would naturally be spoken of in high allegorical terms. The genius of the Egyptian manners partly contributed thereto; much more the humour of travellers; but most of all the arts of Legislators; who, returning into their own country, to civilize a barbarous people by Laws and Arts, found it very profitable for themselves, and necessary for the people, in order to raise their own characters, and to establish the fundamental principle of a future state, to represent that initiation, in which they saw the state of departed mortals represented in machinery, as an actual descent into Hell. Thus did Orpheus,

[l] Page 312—3. [m] Aen. V. v. 729, et seq.

Bacchus, and others. And this way of speaking continued even after the Mysteries were introduced into Greece, as appears by the Fables of Hercules's, Castor and Pollux's, and Theseus's descent into Hell. But the allegory generally carried something with it that discovered the truth conveyed under it. So Orpheus is said to get to Hell by the power of his harp:

"Threïcia fretus cithara, fidibusque canoris:"

Which plainly declares it to be in quality of Legislator: the Harp being the known symbol of his Laws, by which he humanized a rude and barbarous people. Again, in the lives of Hercules and Bacchus, we have the true History, and the Fable founded on it, recorded together. For we are told, that they were in fact initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries; and that it was just before their Descent into Hell, as an aid and security in that desperate attempt [n]. Which, in plain speech, was no more than that they could not safely see the Shews till they were initiated. Again, near Eleusis there was a well called Callichorus; and, adjoining to that, a Stone, on which, as the tradition went, Ceres sat down, sad and weary, on her coming to Eleusis. Hence the Stone was named Agelastus, the Melancholy Stone [o]: so Ovid,

"Hic primum sedit gelido moestissima Saxo,
"Illud Cecropidae nunc quoque triste vocant."

On which account it was unlawful for the initiated to sit upon that Stone. "For Ceres," says Clemens, "wandering about "in search of her daughter Proserpine, when she came to "Eleusis, grew weary, and sat down melancholy on the side "of a well. On which account, to this very day, it is un-"lawful for the initiated to sit down there, lest they who are "now become perfect should seem to imitate her in her deso-"late condition [p]." Now let us see what they tell us concerning Theseus's Descent into Hell.—"There is also a Stone," says the scholiast on Aristophanes, "called by the Athenians, "Agelastus; on which, they say, Theseus sat when he was "meditating his Descent into Hell. Hence the Stone had its "name. Or perhaps because Ceres sat there weeping when "she sought Proserpine [q]." This Tradition, methinks, plainly

n — Καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διόνυσον, κατιόντας εἰς ᾅδου, πρότερον λόγος ἐνθάδε μυηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ θάρσος τῆς ἐκεῖσε πορείας παρὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας ἐναύσασθαι. Auctor Axiochi.

o Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα.

p Ἀλωμένη γὰρ ἡ Δηὼ κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς θυγατρὸς τῆς κόρης, περὶ τὴν Ἐλευσῖνα ἀποκάμνει, καὶ φρέατι ἐπικαθίζει λυπουμένη. Τοῦτο τοῖς μεμυημένοις ἀπαγορεύεται εἰσέτι νῦν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοῖεν οἱ τετελεσμένοι μιμεῖσθαι τὴν ὀδυρομένην. Clemens Protrep.

q Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀγέλαστος πέτρα καλουμένη παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅπου καθίσαι φασὶ Θησέα μέλλοντα καταβαίνειν εἰς ᾅδου. ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα τῇ πέτρᾳ. ἢ ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐκάθισεν ἡ Δημήτηρ κλαίουσα, ὅταν ἐζήτει τὴν κόρην. Schol. Equit. Aristoph. l. 782.

intimates that the descent of Theseus was his entrance into the Eleusinian Mysteries; and that this entrance was a fraudulent unlawful intrusion, as we shall shew hereafter it indeed was.

Both Euripides and Aristophanes seem to confirm our interpretation of this Descent into Hell. Euripides, in his Hercules Furens, brings the Hero, just come from Hell to succour his family, and destroy the tyrant Lycus. In revenge of this, Juno persecutes him with the Furies; and, in his rage, he kills his wife and children, mistaking them for enemies. When he comes to himself, he is consolated by his friend Theseus; who would excuse him by the criminal examples of the Gods: a thing, which as I have observed above, mightily encouraged the people in their irregularities; and was therefore provided against in the Mysteries, by the detection of the errors of Polytheism. Now Euripides seems plainly enough to have told us what he thought of the fabulous Descents into Hell, by making Hercules reply like one just come from the Celebration of the Mysteries, and intrusted with the ἀπόῤῥητα. "The Examples," says he, "which you bring of the Gods, "are nothing to the purpose. I cannot think them guilty of "the crimes imputed to them. I cannot apprehend how one "God can be the sovereign of another God.—A God, who is "truly so, stands in need of no one. Reject we then these "ridiculous fables, which the Poets teach concerning them." The comic Poet, in his Frogs, hath shewn us plainly what he understood by the ancient Hero's Descent into Hell, in the equipage he gives Bacchus, when he brings him inquiring the way of Hercules. We are to observe then, that it was the custom, as we are told by the Scholiast on the place, at the celebration of the Eleusinian Mysteries, to have what was wanted in those rites, carried on asses. Hence the proverb, "Asinus portat Mysteria:" accordingly, the Poet introduces Bacchus, followed by his buffoon servant Xanthius bearing a bundle in like manner, and riding on an ass. And lest the meaning of this should be mistaken, on Hercules's telling Bacchus that the inhabitants of Elysium were the initiated, Xanthius puts in, and says, "and I am the Ass carrying Mysteries."

Here then, as was the case in many other of the antient fables, the pompousness of the expression betrayed willing posterity into the miraculous. But why need we wonder at it, in the genius of ancient times, which delighted to tell the commonest things in a highly figurative and uncommon manner; when a writer of so late an age as Apuleius, either in imitation of antiquity, or rather, according to the received phraseology of the Mysteries, describes his initiation in this manner: "Accessi confinium mortis; et calcato Proserpinae limine, per

" omnia vectus elementa remeavi: nocte media vidi solem can-" dido coruscantem lumine, Deos inferos et Deos superos. " Accessi coram, et adoravi de proximo [r]." Aeneas could not have described his night's journey after he had been let out of the Ivory Gate, to his companions in other terms, had it been indeed a journey into Hell.

We see then, Virgil was obliged to have his hero initiated; and that he had the authority of fabulous antiquity to call this initiation a Descent into Hell. And surely he made use of his advantage with great judgment; for this fiction animates the relation, that, delivered without an allegory, had been too cold and flat for the Epic Poem.

We see, from the Hero's urging the example of those Heroes and Lawgivers, who we have shewn had been initiated before him, that his request was only for an initiation.

" Si potuit manis arcessere conjugis Orpheus,
" Threïcia fretus cithara fidibusque canoris:
" Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
" Itque reditque viam toties: quid Thesea magnum,
" Quid memorem Alciden? et mi genus ab Jove summo."

It is to be observed, that Theseus is the only one of these antient heroes not recorded in History to have been initiated, though we have shewn so evidently that his Descent into Hell was, like that of the rest, only a participation of the Mysteries. The reason is, because his entrance was a violent intrusion.

But an old Poem, under the name of Orpheus, entitled, " A Descent into Hell," had it been now existing, would, perhaps, have shewn us that no more was meant than Orpheus's initiation; and that the idea of this sixth Book was taken from thence. Further, that it was customary for the Poets of this age to exercise themselves on the subject of the Mysteries appears from Tully, who desires Atticus, then at Athens and initiated, to send Chilius, a Poet of eminence [s], an account of the Eleusinian Mysteries; in order, as it would seem, to insert into some Poem he was then writing. " Chilius te rogat et " ego ejus rogatu 'ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ [t]." On which Victorius observes " Πάτρια fere omnes excusi quemadmodum " est in antiquis, habent: ut intelligat ritus patrios et institu-" tiones illius sacrae familiae, et augusta Mysteria, ut inquit " Cicero 2. de Legibus." Thus it appears that both the antient and modern Poets afforded him a pattern for his undertaking.

However this be, Servius saw thus far into Virgil's design,

[r] L. 11. Prope finem.
[s] See Lib. I. Ep. 16. ad Atticum.
[t] Lib. I. Ep. 9. ad Atticum.

as to say, "that many things were here delivered in the pro-"found learning of the Aegyptian theology [u]." And we have shewn that the doctrines taught in the Mysteries, were invented by that people. But though I say this was our Poet's general design, I would not be supposed to think he followed no other guides. Several of the Episodes are borrowed from Homer; and several of the philosophic notions from Plato: some of which will be taken notice of in their place.

The great agent in this affair is the Sibyl; and, as a virgin, she sustains two principal and distinct parts: that of the inspired *Priestess*, to pronounce the *Oracle;* (whose connexion with the Mysteries is spoken of above) and that of Hierophant, to conduct the initiated through the whole celebration.

Her first part begins,

> "Ventum erat ad limen, cum Virgo, *poscere fata*
> "Tempus, ait. Deus, ecce, Deus——
> "O tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis," etc.

and ends,

> "Ut primum cessit furor, et rabida ora quierunt."

Her second part begins at,

> "Sate sanguine Divûm,
> "Tros Anchisiade," etc.

and continues through the whole book.

We have observed, that the initiated had a guide or conductor, called Ἱεροφάντης, Μυσταγωγὸς, Ἱερεὺς, indifferently of either sex [x], who was to instruct him in the preparatory ceremonies, and lead him to, and explain the Shews and Spectacles. Accordingly, Virgil hath given Aeneas the Sibyl; whom he calls Vates, magna Sacerdos, et docta Comes, words of equivalent signification. And as the She Mystagogue was devoted to a single life [y], so was the Cumaean Sibyl, whom he calls Casta Sibylla. The reason why a Priestess is given to conduct him, is because Proserpine presides in this whole affair. And the name of the Priestess in the Eleusinian Mysteries shows that she properly belonged to Proserpine; though she was also called the Priestess of Ceres. "The Ancients," says Porphyrius, "called the Priestesses of Ceres Μέλισσαι, as being the "Ministers or Hierophants of the subterraneous Goddess, and

[u] Multa per altam Scientiam Theologicorum Aegyptiorum.

[x] Τὰς ἱερείας [Δήμητρος] Μελίσσας ἐκάλουν οἱ ποιηταί. Schol. Eurip. Hippol. Μελίσσας κυρίως τὰς της Δήμητρος ἱερείας φησι. Schol. Pind. Pythion.

[y] Hierophanta apud Athenas eviratur virum, et aeterna debilitate fit castus. Hieron. ad Geron. de Monogamia. Καὶ τὸν ἹΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΗΝ καὶ τὰς ἹΕΡΟΦΑΝΤΙΔΑΣ, καὶ τὸν δᾳδοῦχον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερείας μυῤῥίνης ἔχειν στέφανον. δι' ὃ καὶ τῇ Δήμητρᾳ προσθέσθαι ταύτην φησί. Schol. Sophocl. Oedip. Col. v. 673.—ἰσθ' ὅτως ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐ παρα-

" Proserpine herself Μελιτώδης[z]." And Aeneas addresses her, as an aspirant to the Mysteries would address the Hierophant,

——— " Potes namque omnia: nec te
" Nequidquam lucis Hecate præfecit Avernis."

And she answers much in the language of those sacred ministers,

" Quod si tantus amor, etc. ——
— et INSANO juvat indulgere labori;
Accipe quae peragenda prius."———

For *insanus* is the same as ἐνθουσιαστικὸς, and this, as we are told by Strabo, was an inseparable circumstance of the Mysteries[a].

The first instruction the Prophetess gives Aeneas, is to search for the Golden Bough, sacred to Proserpine,

" Aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus,
" Junoni infernae sacer."

Servius can make nothing of this circumstance. He supposes it might possibly allude to a tree in the middle of the sacred grove of Diana's temple in Greece: where, if a fugitive came for sanctuary, and could get off a branch from this tree, which was carefully guarded by the priests, he had the honour to go to handy-cuffs with one of them, and, if he overcame him, to take his place. Though nothing can be more foreign to the point in question than this rambling stuff, yet the Abbé Banier, the best interpreter of the Fables of the Ancients, is forced, for want of a better, to take up with this solution[b], after Servius. Now we say, that under this branch is obumbrated the Wreath of Myrtle, with which the initiated were crowned at the celebration of the Mysteries[c]. 1. Because the Golden Bough is said to be sacred to Proserpine, and so we see was the Myrtle: Proserpine only without Ceres is mentioned all the way through-

παίειν δόξειεν ἄν, δέον παιδοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀπολαύειν τοῦ γάμου, κἀταμαραίνων εὐπρόσωπον οὕτω καὶ ἐπέραστον κόρην, ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ʽΙΕΡΕΙΑΝ ΤΗι ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΩι τρέφων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου. Lucian. in Timone—οὐκοῦν ἀνέραστος σὺ μενεῖς διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ σωφρονήσεις, ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ οὐχ ἑταῖρα, τὸν δὲ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΟΝ ʽΙΕΡΕΙΑ τις οὖσα· Idem in Dialog. Matris et Musarii. It was for this reason that these female Hierophants were called Μέλισσαι, as is well observed by the Schol. on Pind. in Pyth. the Bee being, among the ancients, the symbol of Chastity;

" Quod nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes
" In Venerem solvunt——"

[z] De antro Nymph.

[a] Τῇ Δήμητρι νὴ Δία τὸ ʽΟΡΓΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ πᾶν, καὶ τὸ Βακχικὸν, καὶ τὸ χορικὸν, καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς μυστικόν. l. 10.

[b] Explicat. Histor. des Fables. vol. 2. p. 133. Ed. 1715.

Μυρσίνης στεφάνῳ ἐστεφανοῦντο οἱ μεμυημένοι. Schol. Aristoph. Ranis.

out; partly because the initiation is described as an actual descent into Hell; but principally because, when the rites of the Mysteries were performed, then Ceres and Proserpine were equally invoked; but when the Shews were represented, then Proserpine alone presided: but this book is only a representation of the Shews of the Mysteries. 2. The quality of this Golden Bough, with its "lento vimine," admirably describes the *tender Branches of Myrtle.* 3. The doves of Venus are made to direct Aeneas to the tree:

"Tum Maximus Heros
"Maternas agnoscit aves."—

They fly to it, and rest upon it, as on an accustomed perch, belonging to the family: a *place where they loved to be:* for the Myrtle was consecrated to Venus, as every one knows.

"Sedibus optatis gemina super arbore sidunt."

But there is a greater propriety and beauty in this conduct, than appears at first view. For not only the Myrtle was dedicated to Proserpine as well as Venus, but the Doves likewise, as Porphyry informs us[d].

But the reader may ask, why is this Myrtle-branch represented to be of *gold?* Not merely for the sake of the marvellous, he may be assured. A *Golden Bough* was literally part of the sacred equipage in the *Shews,* a burthen which the *Ass, who carried the Mysteries,* we may be sure, was chiefly proud of. This branch was sometimes wreathed into a crown, and worn on the head; at other times, it was carried in the hand. Clemens Alexandrinus tells us (Strom. lib. 5. p. 568.) from Dionysius Thrax, the grammarian, that it was an Egyptian custom to hold a branch in the act of adoration. And of what kind *these branches* were, Apuleius tells us, in his description of a procession of the Initiated in the *Mysteries* of Isis: "Ibat "tertius, attollens Palmam Auro Subtiliter Foliatam, necnon "mercurialem etiam Caduceum." (Metam. lib. XI. p. 383.) The Golden Branch, then, and the Caduceus, were related. And accordingly Virgil makes the former do the usual office of the latter, in affording a free passage into the regions of the dead. Again, Apuleius, describing the fifth person in the procession, says,

"Quintus auream vannum Aureis congestam Ramulis."
Ibid.

[d] Τῆς δὲ Φερεφάττης, παρὰ τὸ φέρβειν τὸν φάτταν, φασὶν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὔνομα τῶν θεολόγων. ἱερὸν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ φάττα. Porph. de Abst. l. 4. § 16.

So that a *Golden Bough*, we see, was an important implement, and of very complicated intention in the *Shews* of the *Mysteries*.

Aeneas having got this Bough, or being crowned with Myrtle, that being necessary, as is seen above, to initiation,

> " Sed non ante datur telluris operta subire,
> " Auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore foetus.
> " Hoc sibi pulchra suum ferri Proserpina munus
> " Instituit."———

The Poet tells us he carried it into the Sibyl's Grot:

> " Et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae."

And this was to design initiation into the lesser Mysteries: for Dion Chrysostom[e] tells us, this was done ἐν οἰκήματι μικρῷ, in a little narrow chapel, as we must suppose the Sibyl's Grot to be. The initiated into these were called Μύσαι.

He is then led by the Sibyl, his Mystagogue, to the scene of the Descent:

> " His actis, propere exequitur praecepta Sibyllae.
> " Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis hiatu
> " Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris."

His reception is thus described:

> " Sub pedibus mugire solum et juga coepta moveri
> " Sylvarum; visaeque canes ululare per umbram,
> " Adventante Dea. Procul ô, procul este, profani,
> " Conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco."

How true a description this was of the opening of the Shews in the Mysteries, may be seen by the fine description which Claudian *professedly and without disguise* makes of the entrance into these tremendous rites, where he counterfeits the raptures and astonishment of one of the initiated, and throws himself, as it were, like the Sibyl into the midst of the scene.

> " Furens antro se immisit aperto."

Thus he breaks out:

> " Gressus removete, Profani,
> " Jam furor humanos nostro de pectore sensus
> " Expulit ——
> " Jam mihi cernuntur trepidis delubra moveri
> " Sedibus, et claram dispergere fulmina lucem,

[e] Orat. 12.

" Adventum testata Dei. Jam magnus ab imis
" Auditur fremitus terris, templumque remugit
" Cecropium ; sanctasque faces attollit ELEUSIN ;
" Angues Triptolemi stridunt, et squamea curvis
" Colla levant attrita jugis —
" Ecce procul ternas Hecate variata figuras
" Exoritur[f]."

And how exactly both descriptions agree to the relations the ancient Greek writers have left us of these things, may be seen from the general view Dion Chrysostom gives us of initiation in these words: " Just so it is as when one leads a Greek or Bar-" barian to be initiated in a certain mystic dome, excelling in " beauty and magnificence ; where he sees many mystic sights, " and hears in the same manner a multitude of voices ; where " darkness and light alternately affect his senses ; and a thou-" sand other uncommon things present themselves before him[g]."

The " visaeque canes ululare per umbram," is clearly explained by Pletho in his Scholia to the magic Oracles of Zoroaster : " It is the custom in the celebration of the Mysteries, " to present before many of the initiated, phantasms of a canine " figure, and other monstrous shapes and appearances[h]."

The PROCUL Ô PROCUL ESTE PROFANI of the Sibyl, is a literal translation of the formulary used by the Mystagogue, at the opening of the Mysteries:

ΕΚΑΣ, ΕΚΑΣ ΕΣΤΕ ΒΕΒΗΛΟΙ.

The Sibyl then bids Aeneas arm himself with all his courage, as being to encounter most dreadful appearances:

" Tuque invade viam, vaginâque eripe ferrum :
" Nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo."

And we soon find the hero in a fright:

" Corripit hic subitâ trepidus formidine ferrum
" Aeneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert."

And thus affected the antients represent the initiated, on his entrance into these rites. " Entering now into the mystic " dome," says Themistius, " he is filled with horror and amaze-" ment. He is seized with solicitude, and a total perplexity. " He is unable to move a step forward, or how to begin right " the road that is to lead him to the place he aspires to. Till

[f] De Raptu Proserp. sub initio.
[g] Orat. 12.
[h] Ἔιωθε τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν τελȣμένων φαίνεσθαι κατα τὰς τελετὰς κυνώδη τινα, καὶ ἄλλως ἀλλόκοτα τὰς μορφὰς φάσματα.

" the Prophet (the Vates) or conductor laying open the vestibule " of the temple[i]."—So Proclus: " As in the most holy Mys- " teries, before the Scene of the mystic Visions, there is a terror " infused over the minds of the initiated; so," &c[k]. And we presently see that which occasioned it; for Aeneas is now engaged amongst all the real and imaginary evils of life; all the diseases of mind and body; all the " Terribiles visu formae," the Centaurs, Scyllae, Chimaera, Gorgons, and Harpies: and these are they which Pletho, in the place quoted above, calls *ἀλλόκοτα τὰς μοϱφὰς φάσματα*, as seen in the entrance of the Mysteries; and which Celsus tells us were presented likewise in the Bacchic rites[l]. These are said to be " Vestibulum ante " ipsum," and Themistius tells us that *that* was the scene of all the terrors, *τὰ πϱοπύλαια τοῦ νεώ*.

On the opening of this scene, the Poet stops short in his Narration; and breaks out into this solemn Apology:

" Dii, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes;
" Et Chaos et Phlegethon loca nocte silentia late,
" Sit mihi fas audita loqui: sit numine vestro
" Pandere res altâ terrâ et caligine mersas." —

Conscious that he was about to engage in an impious kind of undertaking, such as revealing the Mysteries was generally esteemed to be. Claudian, in the Poem taken notice of before, who professes openly to treat of the Eleusinian Mysteries, at a time when they were in little veneration, yet in compliance to old custom, excuses his undertaking in the very same manner:

" Dii, quibus in numerum, etc. ——
" Vos mihi sacrarum penetralia pandite rerum,
" Et vestri secreta poli, qua lampade Ditem
" Flexit Amor, quo ducta ferox Proserpina raptu
" Possedit dotale Chaos; quantasque per oras
" Sollicito genetrix erraverit anxia cursu;
" Unde datae populis leges, et glande relicta,
" Cesserit inventis Dodonia quercus aristis[m]."

Had the revealing the Mysteries been as penal at Rome, as it was in Greece, Virgil had never ventured on this part of his Poem. But yet it was esteemed an impiety[n]; he therefore

[i] Orat. in Patrem.

[k] *Ὥσπεϱ ἐν ταῖς ἁγιωτάταις τελεταῖς πϱὸ τῶν μυστικῶν θεαμάτων ἔκπληξις τῶν μυουμένων, οὕτω.*—— In Plat. Theol. l. 3. c. 18.

[l] *Τοῖς ἐν ταῖς Βακχικαῖς τελεταῖς τὰ φάσματα καὶ δείματα πϱοεισάγουσι.* Orig. cont. Cels. l. 4. p. 167.

[m] De Raptu Proserpinæ, l. 1. sub init.

[n] —— Athenis initiatus [Augustus] cum postea Romae pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticae Cereris cognosceret, et quaedam secretiora proponerentur, dimisso concilio et corona circumstantium, solus audiit disceptantes. Sueton. l. 2. Octav. Aug. c. 93.

does it covertly, and makes this Apology to those who saw into his meaning.

The hero and his guide now enter on their journey:

> " Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbras:
> " Perque domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna.
> " Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
> " Est iter in sylvis: ubi coelum condidit umbrâ
> " Juppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem."

This description puts me in mind of a passage in Lucian's Dialogue of the Tyrant. As a company made up of every condition of life, are voyaging together into the other world, Mycillus breaks out, and says:—" Bless us! how dark it is! " Where now is the fair Megillus? Who can tell here whether " Simmiche or Phyrna be the handsomer? *Every thing is alike* " *and of the same colour;* and no room for comparisons between beauties. Nay my old cloak, which but now presented " to your eyes so irregular a figure, is become as honourable a " wear as his majesty's purple. For they are both vanished, " and retired together under the same cover. But my friend, " the Cynic, where are you? give me your hand: You are initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries. Tell me now, do you " not think this very like the blind march they make there? " Cy. Oh extremely: and see, here comes one of the Furies, " as I guess, by her equipage, with her torch, and her terrible " looks[o]."

They come now to the banks of Cocytus. Aeneas is surprised at the crowd of ghosts that hover round it, and appear impatient for a passage. He is told by his guide, that they are such, whose bodies have not had the rites of sepulture; and are therefore doomed to wander up and down for a hundred years, before they are permitted to cross it.

> " Haec omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est:
> " Portitor ille, Charon; hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti.
> " Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluenta
> " Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quiêrunt.
> " Centum errant annos, volitantque haec litora circum.
> " Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt."

But we are not to think this old notion took its birth from the superstitious vulgar. The propagating it was one of the wisest contrivances of antient Legislation. And that it came from this forge, we have no reason to doubt, because it was originally Aegyptian. Those profound masters of wisdom, in

[o] Luciani Cataplus.

contriving for the safety of their fellow-citizens, found nothing would more contribute to it, than the public and solemn interment of the dead; private murders, without this provision, being easily and securely perpetrated. They therefore introduced the custom of the most public and pompous funeral rites. And both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus observe, that they were, of all people, the most circumstantially ceremonious in them. But, to secure the observance, by the force of religion, as well as custom, they taught that the deceased could not retire to a place of rest in the other world, till these rites were paid to him in this. And the notion spread so wide, and fixed its root so deep, that the substance of the superstition remains, even to this day, in most civilized countries. By so effectual a method did the Legislator gain his end, the security of the citizen. There is one circumstance, which, if well considered, will shew us of how great moment the rites of sepulture were thought by the antients. The three greatest of the Greek Poets are without question, Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides. Now, in the judgment of modern critics, the performance of funeral rites for Patroclus, Ajax and Polynices, in the Iliad, the Ajax and the Phoenicians, is a vicious continuation of the story which violates the unity of the action. But these men did not consider, that the antients esteemed funeral rites to be an inseparable part of the history of any one's death. And that therefore those great masters of unity and decorum could not think the action ended, till that important circumstance was settled.

But the Egyptian Legislator found afterwards another use in this opinion; and, by artfully turning it as a punishment on insolvent debtors, grounded on it an institution of great advantage to society: for, instead of that general custom of modern barbarians to bury insolvent debtors *alive*, this polite and humane people had a law that denied burial to them when *dead*. The terror of which, we are told, gained its desired effect. And here the learned Marsham seems to be mistaken, when he supposes, that from this interdiction of sepulchral rites, sprung up the Grecian opinion of the wandering of unburied ghosts[p]. For it is plain, from the nature of the thing, that the law was founded on the opinion, which was Egyptian; and not the opinion on the Law, because the opinion was the only sanction of the Law.

On the whole, had not our Poet adjudged it a matter of much importance, he had hardly dwelt so long upon it, or returned again to it[q], or laid so much stress on it, or made his hero so attentively consider it.

[p] Ab interdictae apud Aegyptios sepulturae poenâ, inolevit apud Graecos opinio insepultorum corporum animas à Charonte non esse admissas.—*Canon Chronicus, Seculum* 11. *sect.* 3.

[q] V. 373, et seq.

"Constitit Anchisa satus, et vestigia pressit,
"Multa putans."——

But having added—"Sortemque animo miseratus iniquam;" and Servius commented, "Iniqua enim sors est puniri propter "alterius negligentiam: nec enim quis culpa sua caret Sepul-"chro;" Mr. Bayle cries out[r], "What injustice is this! Was it "the fault of these souls that their bodies were not interred?" But not knowing the original of this opinion, he did not see its use; and so attributes that to the blindness of religion, which was the issue of wise policy. Virgil, by his "sors iniqua," means no more than that in this, as well as in several other civil institutions, a public good was often a private injury.

The next thing observable is the Ferry-man, Charon; and he, the learned well know, was a substantial Egyptian; and, as an ingenious writer says, fairly existing in this world. The case was plainly thus: The Egyptians, like all other people, in their descriptions of the other world, used to resemble it to something they were well acquainted with in this. In their funeral rites, which, as we observed, was with them a matter of greater moment than with any other nation, they used to carry their dead over the Nile, and through the marsh of Acherusia; and there put them into subterraneous vaults: the ferry-man, here employed, being in their language called Charon. Now in their descriptions of the other world, in the Mysteries, it was natural for them to borrow from these circumstances in the funeral rites. And that they themselves actually transferred these realities into the ΜΥΘΟΣ, and not the Greeks, as their later writers generally imagine, might be very easily proved if there was any occasion.

Charon is appeased at the sight of the Golden Bough.

——— "Ille admirans venerabile donum
"Fatalis Virgae, *Longo Post Tempore* visum."

But it is represented as the passport of all the antient heroes who had descended into hell; how then could it be said to be "longo "post tempore visum," Aeneas being so near the times of those heroes? To explain this, we must have in mind what hath been said above of a perfect Lawgiver's being held out in Aeneas, and of Augustus's being shadowed under the Trojan Chief. So that here Virgil is thinking of his master; and the insinuation is, that the Roman Emperor, in a latter age, should rival the fame of the first Grecian Lawgivers.

[r] Quelle injustice! etoit-ce la faute de ces ames que leurs corps n'eussent pas été enterrés. *Respons. aux Quest. d'un Provincial.* p. 3. c. 22.

But Aeneas hath now crossed the river, and is come into the proper regions of the dead. The first thing that occurs to him is the Dog Cerberus:

"Haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
"Personat, adverso recubans immanis in Antro."

This is plainly the phantom in the Mysteries, which Pletho tells us above, was in the shape of a dog, κυνώδη τινα. And in the fable of Hercules' descent into Hell, which, we have shewn, signified no more than his initiation into the Mysteries, it is said to have been, amongst other things, for fetching up the dog Cerberus.

To appease his rage, the prophetess gives him a medicated cake, which casts him into a slumber.

"Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
"*Melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam*
"Objicit. Ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens
"Conripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
"Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur Antro."

The cake was of poppy-seed (for so I understand "medicatis "frugibus") made up with honey. Honey, as we have shewn above, was sacred to Proserpine, who on that account was called Μελιτώδης. And the poppy, to Ceres. "Cereale Papaver," says Virgil, on which words Servius thus comments, "vel quod "est esui, sicut frumentum, vel quo Ceres usa est ad oblivionem "doloris; nam ob raptum Proserpinae Vigiliis defatigata, gus- "tato eo acta est in Soporem[s]." To the same purpose Ovid in speaking of Ceres:

"Illa soporiferum parvos initura Penates
"Colligit agresti lene papaver humo:
"Dum legit, oblito fertur gustasse palato,
"Longamque imprudens exsoluisse famem[t]."

The regions are, according to Virgil's division, in three parts: 1. Purgatory, 2. Tartarus, 3. Elysium. For Deïphobus, in the first, says,

"Discedam, explebo numerum, reddarque tenebris[u]."

And in the second it is said of Theseus,——

"Sedet, aeternumque sedebit
"Infelix Theseus."——

[s] Ad l. 1. Georg. v. 212. [t] L. 3. Fast.

[u] But the nature and end of this Purgatory the Poet describes at large, from v. 736. to v. 745.

The mysteries divided them in the very same manner. So Plato, in the passage quoted above, speaks, as taught there, of souls sticking fast in mire and filth, and remaining in darkness, till a long series of years had purged and purified them. And Celsus, in Origen, we have seen, says that eternal punishments were taught in the Mysteries.

Of all the three states, that of Tartarus only was eternal. There was, indeed, another, in the antient Pagan Theology, which had the same relation to Elysium that Tartarus had to Purgatory, the extreme of reward, as Tartarus of punishment. But then this state was not in the infernal regions, but in Heaven. Neither was it the lot of common men, but reserved for *heroes* and *demons;* beings of a superior order, such as Hercules, Bacchus, &c., who became Gods on their admission into Heaven, where eternity was the consequence of their deification.

Cicero distinguishes the two orders of souls, according to the vulgar theology, in this manner. "Quid autem ex hominum "genere consecratos, sicut Herculem et ceteros coli lex jubet, "indicat omnium quidem animos immortales esse; Fortium "Bonorumque Divinos."—De Legg. Lib. 1. Cap. 12.

And here it is very observable to our purpose, that the virtues and vices which the Poet recapitulates, as stocking these three divisions with inhabitants, are such as most immediately affect society. A plain proof that he was directed by the same views with the institutors of the Mysteries.

Purgatory, the first division, is inhabited by suicides, extravagant lovers, and ambitious warriors: and in a word, by all those, who had given a loose to the exorbitancy of their passions; which made them rather miserable than wicked. It is remarkable that amongst these we find one of the initiated:

"Cererique sacrum Polyboeten."

Which was agreeable to the public teaching in the Mysteries, that initiation without virtue was of no use; though with virtue the initiated had great advantages over other men in a future state.

But, of all these disorders, suicide being most pernicious to society, the Poet hath more distinctly marked out the misery of this condition:

"Proxima deinde tenent moesti loca, qui sibi lethum
"Insontes peperêre manu, lucemque perosi
"Projecêre animas. Quam vellent aethere in alto
"Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!"

Here he keeps close to the Mysteries; which not only forbade

suicide, but taught on what account it was criminal. "That "which is taught in the *Mysteries*," says Plato, "concerning "these matters, of man's being placed in a certain watch, or "station, which it is unlawful to fly from, or forsake, is a pro-"found doctrine, and not easily fathomed[x].

Hitherto all goes well. But what must we say to the Poet's putting children, and men falsely condemned, into his Purgatory? For though the modern Roman Faith and Inquisition send these two sorts of persons into a place of punishment, yet the genius of antient Paganism had a far gentler spirit. It is indeed difficult to tell what these inmates have to do here.

[x] Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΟΙΣ λεγόμενος περὶ αὐτῶν λόγος, ὡς ἔν τινι φρουρᾷ ἐσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ȣ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν ȣδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν, μεγάς τε τις μοι φαίνεται καὶ ȣ ῥᾴδιος διϊδεῖν. Phaed. p. 62. Ser. Ed. tom. 1. The very learned Mr. Dacier translates ἐν ἀποῤῥήτοις, dans les Mysteres; and this agreeably to his vast knowledge of antiquity. For ἀπόῤῥητα was used by the antients, to signify not only the grand secret taught in the Mysteries, but the Mysteries themselves: as appears from innumerable places in their writings. Yet the French translator of *Pufendorf's Law of Nature and Nations*, l. 2. c. 4. sect. 19. Note (1), accuses him of not understanding his author. "Mr. Dacier fait dire à Platon que l'on tenoit tous les jours ces discours "au peuple dans les ceremonies et dans les Mysteres. Il seroit à souhaiter qu'il "eût allégué quelque autorité pour etablir un fait si remarquable. Mais il s'agit "ici manifestement des instructions secrétes que les Pythagoriciens donnoient "à leurs inities, et lesquelles ils decouvroient les raisons les plus abstruses, et les "plus particuliers des dogmes de leur philosophie. Ces instructions cachées "s'appelloient ἀπόῤῥητα——Ce que Platon dit un peu auparavant de Philolaüs, "Philosophe Pythagoricien, ne permit pas de douter que la raison, qu'il rapporte ici comme trop abstruse et difficile à comprendre, ne soit celle que don-"noient les Pythagoriciens." He says, it was to be wished Dacier had some authority for so remarkable a fact. He hath this very passage: which is authority enough. For the word ἀπόῤῥητα signifies the Mysteries, and cannot here mean the secret Doctrines of the Philosophers; as will be shewn presently. But those who want farther authority, may have it, amply, in the nature and end of the Mysteries, as explained above. ——— He says, it is evident, Plato is here talking of the secret instructions which the Pythagoreans gave to their initiated, in which they discovered their most abstruse and particular doctrines. This cannot possibly be so, for a very evident reason. The philosophy of the Pythagoreans, like that of other sects, was divided into the Exoterical and Esoterical; the Open taught to all, and the Secret taught to a select number. But the impiety of suicide was a doctrine in the first division taught to all, as serviceable to society: "Vetatque Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de praesidio et "statione vitae decedere," says Tully, in his book of Old Age; who, in his Dream of Scipio, writ in the Exoteric way, condemns Suicide, for the very same reason. But in an epistle to a particular friend, which certainly was of the Esoteric kind, he approves of it.———"Ceteri quidem, Pompeius, Lentulus tuus, Scipio, Afranius, foede perierunt. At Cato praeclarè. Jam istuc quidem, cum volemus, licebit." L. 9. Ep. 18. It could not be therefore, that the impiety of Suicide could be called one of the ἀπόῤῥητα of Philosophy; for, on the contrary, it was one of their popular doctrines. But this will be fuller seen when we come to speak of the Philosophers in the next book.——He concludes, that as Plato had spoke of Philolaüs a little before, it cannot be doubted but that he speaks of the reason against Suicide, as a doctrine of the Pythagorean philosophy. What has been said above, utterly excludes any such interpretation. But though it did not, his reason will not infer it. There is nothing in the context that shews Plato had Philolaüs in his mind here. That this was a doctrine, though not of the Esoteric kind, in the Pythagoric school, I readily allow. The Mysteries, and that, held an infinite number of things in common: we have seen this in part already, and when we come to speak of Pythagoras, we shall shew how this happened.

And the commentators, as is their use, observe a profound silence. Let us first examine the case of the infants; which we shall find can be cleared up only in our view of things; and should therefore be considered as another strong presumption of its truth.

> "Continuo auditae voces, vagitus et ingens,
> "Infantumque animae flentes in limine primo:
> "Quos dulcis vitae exortes, et ab ubere raptos
> "Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo."

These appear to have been the cries and lamentings that Proclus tells us were heard in the Mysteries[y]. So that we only want to know the original of so extraordinary an opinion. Which I take to have been just such another institution of the Legislator, for the preservation of the offspring, as that about Funeral Rites was for the parents. And nothing sure could more engage parents to the care and preservation of their young, than so terrible a doctrine. Nor are we to think, that their instinctive fondness needed no enforcement, or support to the discharge of this natural duty: for that most degenerate and horrid practice among the antients, of exposing infants, was universal; and had almost erased morality and instinct. So that it needed the strongest and severest check: and I am well persuaded it was that which occasioned this counterplot of the magistrate, in order to give instinct fair play, and call back banished nature. Nothing indeed could be more worthy of his care: for the destruction of children, as Pericles finely observed of youth, is *like cutting off the spring from the year.*

Here Mr. Bayle is again scandalized: "The first thing that "occurred on the entrance into the other world was the station "assigned to infants, who lamented and cried without ceasing; "and, next to it, that of men unjustly condemned to death. "Now what could be more shocking or scandalous than the "punishment of those little creatures who had yet committed "no sin, or of those persons whose innocence had been oppressed "by calumny[z]?" The first case we have already cleared up; the second we shall consider presently. But it is no wonder Mr. Bayle could not digest this doctrine of the infants; for I am very much mistaken if it did not stick with the great Plato himself. Who, relating the Vision of Erus the Pamphylian,

[y] Καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τοὺς μυστικοὺς ΘΡΗΝΟΥΣ μυστικῶς παρειλήφαμεν. In Comment. in Platonis Remp. l. 10.

[z] La premiere chose que l'on rencontroit à l'entrée des Enfers, etoit la station des petits enfans, qui ne cessoient de pleurer, et puis celle des personnes injustement condamnées à la mort. Quoi de plus choquant, de plus scandaleux, que la peine de ces petites creatures, qui n'avoient encore commis nul péché; ou que la peine de ceux, dont l'innocence avoit été opprimée par la calomnie? Respons. aux Quest. d'un Prov. p. 3. c. 22.

concerning the distribution of rewards and punishments in a future state, when he comes to the condition of infants, passes it over in this remarkable manner:—" But of children who died in their infancy, he reported certain other things NOT WORTHY TO BE RECORDED[a]." Erus's account of what he saw in another world, is a summary of what the Egyptians taught of that matter. And I make no question, but the thing here *unworthy of being recorded*, was the doctrine of Infants in Purgatory: which Plato (not reflecting on this original and use) appears to have been shocked at.

But now, as to the falsely condemned, the most perplexing difficulty in the whole Aeneis, we must seek another solution:

" Hos juxta, falso damnati crimine mortis;
" Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine judice sedes.
" Quaesitor Minos urnam movet: ille silentum
" Conciliumque vocat, vitasque et crimina discit."

Here appears a strange jumble as well as iniquity in this designment: the falsely accused[b] are not only in a place of punishment, but, being first represented under one predicament, they are afterwards distinguished, some as blameable, others as innocent. To clear up all this confusion, we must transcribe an old story told by Plato in his Gorgias: " There was this " law concerning mortals in the time of Saturn, and is now " always enforced by the Gods; that he who had lived a just " and pious life, should at his death be carried into the Islands " of the Blessed, and there possess all kinds of happiness, un- " tainted with the evils of mortality: but that he who had lived " unjustly and impiously, should be thrust into a place of " punishment, the prison of divine justice, called Tartarus. " Now the judges, with whom the execution of this law was " intrusted, were, in the time of Saturn, and under the infancy " of Jove's government, *living men, sitting in judgment on the* " *living*; and decreeing and appointing their abodes on the very " day on which every one should die. This gave occasion to " iniquitous and perverse judgments: on which account Pluto, " and those to whom the care of the happy Islands was com- " mitted, went to Jupiter, and told him, that men came to them " wrongly judged, both when acquitted and when condemned. " To which the Father of the Gods made this reply: I will " put a stop to this evil, says he. These wrong judgments are " partly occasioned by the corporeal covering of the persons

[a] Τῶν δὲ εὐθὺς γενομένων, καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον βιούντων περὶ ἄλλα ἔλεγεν ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ. De Rep. l. 10. p. 615. Ser. Ed.

[b] Servius on the place characterizes them in this manner:—" Qui sibi per " simplicitatem adesse nequiverunt."

"judged; for they are tried while living: now many have their "corrupted minds hid under a fair outside, adorned with birth "and riches; and when they come to their trial, they have "many witnesses at hand to testify for their good life and con-"versation: this perverts the process, and blinds the eyes of "justice. Another cause of this evil is, that the judges them-"selves are likewise encumbered with the same corporeal co-"vering: the mind is hid and enveloped in eyes and ears[c], and "an impenetrable tegument of flesh. All these are bars and "obstacles to right judgment, as well their own covering, as "the covering of those they judge. In the first place then, "says he, we are to provide that they[d] no longer have a fore-"knowledge of the day of death, which they now foresee: we "shall therefore give this in charge to Prometheus, to take "away their prescience; and then provide that they who come "to judgment be stripped naked of all their disguises: for they "are from henceforth to receive it in another world. And as "they are to be quite stripped, it is but fit the judges should "be so too: that, at the arrival of every new inhabitant, they "being divested of all family and relations, and every worldly "ornament left behind, soul may look on soul, and be thereby "enabled to pass a righteous judgment. I therefore, who "foresaw all these things before you felt them, have taken care "to constitute my own sons judges: two of them, Minos and "Rhadamanthus, are Asiatics; the third, Aeacus, an Eu-"ropean: these, when they die, shall have their tribunal erected "in the Shades, just in that part of the highway where the two "roads divide, the one leading to the happy Islands, the other "to Tartarus: Rhadamanthus shall judge the Asiatics, and "Aeacus the Europeans. But to Minos I give the superior "authority of hearing appeals, when any thing obscure or diffi-

[c] The original to Ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὦτα, adds ὀδόντας, *teeth*. If this be the true reading, I presume Plato intended by it, to ridicule the Athenian judges; who, like more modern ones, out of impatience for their dinner, sometimes acquit or condemn before they were possessed of the merits of the cause: but as this seems too ludicrous a circumstance for the subject, I suspect it rather to be an unmeaning blunder of some old transcriber.

[d] That ἀυτοὺς and ἀυτῶν relate here only to the judges, appears plain from the following considerations. 1. Plato is speaking only of the judges from the words ὁι οὖν δικαςαὶ, &c., and resumes the subject of those judged at the words ἔπειτα γυμνοὺς. 2. A judicature is here abolished, and the circumstance of the abolition is the taking away a prescience. If it was not only the prescience of the judges, it was their authority, and the taking it away was indeed the abolition of the jurisdiction, which is the point proposed. But if it was the general prescience of mankind, then it was no authority, and the taking it away was no abolition of the jurisdiction, contrary to what it is here proposed to be. It is true, it appears that the persons judged had a knowledge of the day of judgment, by being so well provided to evade an impartial examination. But this we must reasonably suppose to be effected by that advantage, which the practice of all judicatories give, in giving notice to the person judged of his day of trial.

" cult shall perplex the other's judgments; that every one may " have his due abode assigned him with the utmost equity[e]."

The matter now begins to clear up; and we see plainly that the circumstance of the *falsely condemned* alludes entirely to this old fable: and that by " falso damnati crimine mortis," Virgil did not mean, as one would imagine, " innocentes addicti " morti ob injustam calumniam," but " homines indigne et " perperam adjudicati;" not *men falsely condemned*, but *wrongly judged*, whether to acquittal or conviction: for condemnation being oftenest the sentence of justice, the greater part is put figuratively for the whole[f]: what follows,

" Nec vero hae sine sorte datae, sine judice sedes,"

and,

—— " Vitasque et crimina discit,"

agreeing only to this interpretation (as supposing a wrong sentence in acquittal, as well as condemnation), confirms the truth of it; and thus the whole becomes consistent. One only difficulty remains, and that, to confess the truth, hath arisen rather from a mistake of Virgil's than of his readers. We find these people yet unjudged, fixed already in an assigned district, with other criminals, in Purgatory. But they are wrong stationed, through an oversight of the Poet; which, had he lived to perfect the Aeneis, doubtless he would have reformed: for we see, by the fable, they should have been placed on the borders of the three divisions, in that part of the high road that divides itself in two, which lead to Tartarus and Elysium; thus, afterwards, described by the Poet:

" Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas.
" Dextera, quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit:
" Hic iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum
" Exercet poenas, et ad impia Tartara mittit."

It only now remains to consider the ground and original of the Fable; which, I think, was this: It was an Egyptian custom, as we are told by Diodorus Siculus, for judges to be appointed at every one's interment; to examine their past lives, and to

[e] Tom. I. p. 523. *Serr. Ed.*

[f] He that thinks this too licentious a figure, perhaps will be inclined to believe, that the Poet wrote,

" Hos juxta, falso damnati *tempore* mortis:"

Which both points up to the fable, from whence this circumstance was borrowed, and hints at the original of that fable as here explained; and besides this agrees best with the context. But a transcriber not knowing what to make of " tempore mortis," (it being only to be explained by this passage of Plato) might be easily tempted to change it into " crimine mortis."

condemn and acquit, according to the evidence. These judges were of the priesthood; and so, it is probable, taught, like the priests of the Church of Rome, that their decrees were ratified in the infernal Shades: partiality and corruption would, in time, pervert their sentence; and spite and favour prevail over Justice: as this might scandalize the people, it would be found necessary to teach that the judgment, which influenced every one's final doom, was reserved for the judicature of the other world. However the priest took care that all should not go out of his hands: and when he could be no longer Judge, he contrived to turn Evidence; and no doubt found his account in it: as appears by this antient inscription, "Ego Sextus Anicius "Pontifex testor honeste hunc vixisse: Manes ejus inveniant "quietem[g]."

This I take to be what gave birth to the general fable: but there is one circumstance this does not so clearly account for; namely, of the judges passing sentence in life, and predicting the day of the criminal's death; and the order to Prometheus, on the abolition of their judicature, to take away this gift of prescience. To understand these things, we must suppose, what is very probable, that the custom, mentioned above by Diodorus, was only the succession of a more early one; where the priests judged the living criminal for those crimes that the civil tribunal could not so conveniently take notice of; which is the only justifiable use of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, with coactive power. If this be so, then, by "predicting the day of "the criminal's death" was meant "the infliction of a capital "punishment;" and, by "Prometheus's taking the gift from "them," the "civil magistrate's abolition of the jurisdiction:" and this name was not ill assigned to him, who forms the minds and manners of the people by the plastic arts of society. This, in my opinion, was the original of Plato's fable: and he seems plainly to have had that original in mind, when he makes Socrates introduce it thus: "Hear then, as they say, a cele-"brated tale; which you, I imagine, will call a fable, but I "a true story[h]."

I hope this perplexed matter is now unravelled. How much it wanted explanation, may be seen by what one of the greatest geniuses of his time hath said of it in a discourse wrote to illustrate Aeneas's Descent into Hell: "There are three kinds of "persons," says this celebrated author, "described, as being "situated on the *Borders*; and I can give no reason for their "being stationed there in so particular a manner, but because "none of them seem to have had a proper right to a place

[g] Fabius Celsus Inscript. Antiq. l. 3.

[h] ΣΩΚΡ. Ἄκȣε δὴ (φασὶ) μάλα καλοῦ λόγȣ· ὃν σὺ μεν ἡγήσῃ μῦθον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον.

" among the dead, as not having run out the thread of their " days, and finished the term of life that had been allotted them " upon earth: the first of these are the souls of infants, who " are snatched away by untimely ends; the second are of those " who are put to death wrongfully, and by an unjust sentence; " and the third of those who grew weary of their lives, and laid " violent hands upon themselves[1].

After this, follow the two Episodes of Dido and Deïphobus, in imitation of Homer; where we find nothing to our purpose, but the strange description of the latter, whose mangled phantom is drawn according to the philosophy of Plato; who teaches in his Gorgias, that the dead not only retain all the passions of the soul, but all the marks and blemishes of the body.

Aeneas having passed this first division, comes now on the confines of Tartarus; and is instructed in what relates to the crimes and punishments of the inhabitants, by his guide; who declares her office of Hierophante, or interpreter of the Mysteries, in these words:

" Dux inclyte Teucrûm,
" Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen:
" Sed me, cum lucis Hecate praefecit avernis,
" Ipsa Deum poenas docuit, perque omnia duxit."

It is remarkable, that Aeneas is led through the Regions of Purgatory and Elysium; but he only sees the sights of Tartarus at a distance, which his guide explains to him:

" Tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae
" Panduntur portae: Cernis, custodia qualis
" Vestibulo sedeat; facies quae limina servet."

For thus it must needs be, in the shows of the Mysteries, for very obvious reasons.

The criminals destined to eternal punishment; in this division, are,

1. Those who had sinned so secretly as to escape the animadversion of the Magistrate:

" Gnossius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna:
" Castigatque auditque dolos, subigitque fateri
" Quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani,
" Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem."

And it was principally on account of such crimes, that the Legislator enforced the doctrine of a future state of punishment.

[1] Mr Addison's Works, Vol. 2. p. 300. Quarto Ed. 1721.

2. The Atheistical Despisers of God and Religion:

> "Hic genus antiquum terrae Titania pubes."

This was agreeable to the laws of Charondas, who says, "Be "the contempt of the Gods put in the number of the most "flagitious crimes[k]." The Poet dwells particularly on that species of impiety, that affects divine honours:

> "Vidi et crudeles dantem Salmonea poenas,
> "Dum flammas Jovis et sonitus imitatur Olympi."

And this was doubtless designed by him for an oblique castigation of the adulation of the Apotheosis, then beginning to be paid and received at Rome. I cannot but think Horace likewise, in his Ode, of which Virgil is the subject, upbraids, his countrymen for this madness:

> "Coelum ipsum petimus stultitia; neque
> "Per nostrum patimur scelus
> "Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina[l]."

3. The Infringers of the Duties of Imperfect Obligation, which Civil Laws cannot reach: such as want of natural affection to brothers, duty to parents, protection to clients, and charity to the poor:

> "Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat;
> "Pulsatusve parens; et fraus innexa clienti[m];
> "Aut qui divitiis soli incubuêre repertis,
> "Nec partem posuêre suis; quae maxima turba est."

4. Those pests of public and private peace, the Traitor and the Adulterer:

> "Quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti
> "Impia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras—
> "Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
> "Imposuit; fixit leges pretio, atque refixit.
> "Hic thalamum invasit natae, vetitosque hymenaeos."

It is observable, he does not say, simply, Adulteri, but "ob "adulterium caesi;" as implying, that the greatest civil punishment makes no atonement for this crime at the bar of Divine Justice.

5. The fifth and last species of offenders are the Invaders

[k] Ἔστω δὲ μέγιστα ἀδικήματα θεῶν καταφρόνησις. ap. Stob. Serm. 42.

[l] Carm. Lib. 1. Od. 3.

[m] So the Law of the twelve tables: *Patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto.*

and Violators of the holy Mysteries, held out in the person of Theseus:

—— " Sedet, aeternumque sedebit
" Infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes
" Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras:"

DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS.

The Fable says, that Theseus, and his friend Pirithous, formed a design to steal Proserpine from Hell; but being taken in the fact, Pirithous was thrown to the dog Cerberus, and Theseus kept in chains[n], till delivered by Hercules. Hereby, no doubt, was designed their clandestine intrusion into the Mysteries; for which they were punished, as the Fable relates; that is, Pirithous capitally, and Theseus by imprisonment. We have already given several reasons to prove the descent of Theseus to be a violent intrusion into the Mysteries, to which we may add what the antients tell us of the time of his imprisonment, which was four years; the exact space between the celebrations of the greater Mysteries. So Seneca makes him say,

" Tandem profugi noctis aeternae plagam,
" Vastoque manes carcere umbrantem Polum.
" Ut vix cupitum sufferunt oculi diem!
" Jam quarta Eleusis dona Triptolemi secat,
" Paremque toties Libra composuit diem;
" Ambiguus ut me sortis ignarae labor
" Detinuit inter mortis et vitae mala[o]."

Thus we may reconcile the contradictory accounts of the Fable concerning Theseus, some of which say he was delivered from Hell, others, that he was eternally detained there. The first relate to the liberty given him by the President of the Mysteries; the other, to what the Mysteries taught was the lot of the violators of them in the other world. This leads me to a circumstance which will much confirm our general interpretation of this 6th Book. In Aeneas's Speech to the Sibyl, Theseus is put amongst those Heroes who went to, and returned from Hell—

" Quid Theseas Magnum
" Quid memorem Alciden?"—

But afterwards he is represented as eternally confined there. Julius Hyginus, in his Commentaries on Virgil[p], thinks this a

[n] Κατασχεθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, Πειρίθοος μὲν ἐβρώθη
Τῷ τρικεφάλῳ τῷ κυνὶ, Θησεὺς δ' εἱρκτῇ κρατεῖται.—Jo. Tzetzes, C. II. Cap. LI.
[o] Hippol.
[p] A. Gellii Noct. Att. l. 10. c. 16.

gross contradiction; that Virgil would have corrected had he lived to finish the Poem. But can any man in his senses believe that the Poet was not aware of these two contradictory accounts so near one another in the same book? I have reconciled them above. And his employing them both, confirms, as we say, our general interpretation. Aeneas wanted to be initiated, and where he speaks to the Sibyl, or Mystagogue, he enumerates those heroes who had been initiated before him, that is, those who had seen the Shews of the Mysteries, of which number was Theseus, though he had intruded violently. But when the Poet comes to describe the Shews of the Mysteries, which were supposed to be a true representation of what was done and suffered in Hell, Theseus is put among the damned, that being his destiny upon death.

This brings to my mind a story told by Livy. "The Athe-"nians," says he, "drew upon themselves a war with Philip, "on a very slight occasion; at a time, when nothing remained "of their antient fortune, but their high spirit. Two young "Acarnanians, during the days of initiation, themselves un-"initiated and ignorant of all that related to that secret wor-"ship, entered the Temple of Ceres along with the crowd. "Their discourse soon betrayed them; as making some absurd "inquiries into what they saw: so being brought before the "President of the Mysteries, although it was evident they "had entered ignorantly, and without design, they were put "to death, as guilty of a most abominable impiety[q]."

The Phlegyae here mentioned, I take to be those people of Boeotia spoke of by Pausanias, who attempting to plunder the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, were almost all destroyed by lightning, earthquakes, and pestilence: hence Phlegyae, I suppose, signified impious, sacrilegious persons in general; and is so to be understood here.

The office Theseus is put upon, of admonishing his hearers against impiety, could not sure be discharged by any one so well, in the Shews of the Mysteries, as by him who represented the violator of them. And here it is to be observed, that our view of things frees this passage from an absurdity, which the critics knew not how to remove: who saw there could not be a more impertinent employment, than perpetually sounding in the ears of the damned this admonition:

"DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEMNERE DIVOS."

[q] Contraxerant autem cum Philippo bellum Athenienses haud quaquam dignâ causâ, dum ex vetere fortunâ nihil praeter animos servant. Acarnanes duo juvenes per initiorum dies, non initiati, templum Cereris, imprudentes Religionis, cum ceterâ turbâ ingressi sunt. Facile eos sermo prodidit, absurdè quaedam percunctantes; deductique ad antistites templi, cùm palam esset, per errorem ingressos, tanquam ob infandum scelus, interfecti sunt.—Hist. lib. 31.

For though it was a sentence of great truth and dignity, it was very uselessly preached amongst those to whom there was no room for pardon or remission.

Even the ridiculous Scarron, who has employed all his poor talents in abusing the most useful Poem that ever was written, hath not neglected to urge this objection against it:

> " Cette sentence est bonne et belle,
> " Mais en enfer de quoi sert-elle?"

And it must be confessed that, according to the common ideas of Aeneas's Descent into Hell, Virgil hath put Theseus on a very impertinent office.

But nothing could be juster, or more useful than this continued admonition, if we suppose Virgil to be here giving a representation of what was said during the celebration of the Shews of the Mysteries: for then it was addressed to the vast Multitude of living Spectators. But that this admonitory circumstance made part of the representations is not a bare supposition. Aristides expressly tells us, that no where was more astonishing words sung than in these Mysteries; the reason for such practice was, that the sounds and sights might mutually assist each other in making an impression on the minds of the initiated. But, from a passage in Pindar I conclude, that in the Shews of the Mysteries (from whence men took their ideas of the infernal regions) it was customary for each offender, represented under punishment, to make his admonition against his own crime, as he passed by in machinery. " It is reported," says Pindar, " that Ixion, while he is incessantly turning round " his rapid wheel, calls out to this effect to MORTALS, that " they should be always at hand to repay a benefactor for the " kindnesses he had done them[r]." Where the word ΒΡΟΤΟΙ, living men, seems plainly to shew that the speech was first made before men in this world.

The Poet closes his catalogue of the damned with these words:

> " Ausi omnes immane nefas, AUSOQUE POTITI."

For the ancients had generally a notion that an action was sanctified by success which they esteemed a mark of the favour and approbation of Heaven. As this was a very pernicious opinion, it was necessary to teach that the imperial villain who

[r] Ἰξίονα φαντὶ ταῦτα
Βροτοῖς λέγειν, ἐν πτερόεντι τροχῷ
Παντᾶ κυλινδόμενον,
Τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαναῖς ἀμοιβαῖς
Ἐποιχομένους τίνεσθαι.—2. Pyth.

enslaved his country, and the baffled plotter who died on a gibbet, were equally the objects of Divine justice.

Aeneas, now passed Tartarus, comes to the borders of Elysium. Here he undergoes the Lustration:

> "Occupat Aeneas aditum, corpusque recenti
> "Spargit aquâ, ramumque adverso in limine figit."

And thus ends the lesser Mysteries. Being now about to undergo the lustrations (says Sopater) which immediately precede initiation into the greater Mysteries, they called me happy [s]. The hero now enters on the greater Mysteries, and comes to the abodes of the blessed:

> "Devenere lacos laetos, et amoena vireta
> "Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas:
> "Largior hic campos aether, et lumine vestit
> "Purpureo: solemque suum, sua sidera norunt."

The initiated were now called Ἐπόπται as before, Μύσται, and this representation Ἀυτοψία. The Ἀυτοψία, or the beholding with their own eyes, (says Psellus) is when he who is initiated beholds the divine Lights [t].

In the very same manner Themistius describes the initiated just entered upon this scene.—It being thoroughly purified, he now discloses to the initiated, a region [u] all over illuminated, and shining with a divine splendour. The cloud and thick darkness are dispersed; and the mind emerges, as it were, into day, full of light and cheerfulness, as before, of disconsolate obscurity [u].

[s] Μέλλων δὲ τοῖς καθαρσίοις, τοῖς πρὸ τῆς τελετῆς, ἐντυγχάνειν, ἐκάλȣν εὐδαίμονα ἐμαυτον. In Divis. Quaest.

[t] Ἀυτοψία ἐςὶν, ὅταν ἀυτὸς ὁ τελȣ́μενος τὰ θεῖα φῶτα ὁρᾷ. In Schol. in Oräc. Zoroast.

[u] This which was all over illuminated, and which the Priest had thoroughly purified, was ἄγαλμα, an image. The reason of my transferring what is said of its illumination to the Region is, because this image represented the appearances of the Divine Being. Thus Jamblicus de Mysteriis: Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα τῶν ἀυτοφανῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΩΝ λόγȣς ἀφορισώμεθα. ȣ̓κȣ̃ν ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑΙΣ ἐνεργέςερα καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ὁρᾶται τὰ θεάματα, ἀκριβῶς τε διαλάμπει, καὶ διηρθρωμένα λαμπρῶς εκφαίνεται.—And again Ὡσαύτως τοίνυν καὶ επὶ τȣ̃ ΦΩΤΟΣ· τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ φωτὸς πλέον ἀςράπτει. Sect. 2. c. 4. Hence it appears that these mystical images were only a great light which illuminated all around. To this, the following lines in the oracles of Zoroaster allude:

> Μὴ φύσεως καλέσῃς ΑΥΤΟΠΤΟΝ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ,
> Οὐ γαρ χρὴ κεῖνȣς σε βλέπειν πρὶν σῶμα ΤΕΛΕΣΘΗ͂.

Invoke not the self-conspicuous image of nature, for thou must not behold these things before thy body be purified by initiation. This αὐτόπτον ἄγαλμα was only a diffusive shining light, as the name partly declares, thus described presently after in the same oracles.

> Ἡνίκα βλέψῃς μορφῆς ἄτερ εὐΐερον πῦρ,
> Λαμπόμενον σκιρτηδὸν ὅλȣ κατὰ βένθεα κόσμȣ,
> Κλῦθι πυρὸς φωνὴν.

The lines,

> " Largior hic campos aether, et lumine vestit
> " Purpureo; Solemque suum, sua sidera norunt,"

are in the very language of those, who profess to tell us what they saw at their initiation into the greater Mysteries. " Nocte " media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine," says Apuleius (Met. Lib. XI.) on that occasion; for " candido" and " pur- " pureo lumine" mean the very same thing.

Here Virgil, by forsaking Homer, and following the representations of the Mysteries, in their amiable paintings of Elysium, hath avoided a terrible fault his master fell into; who hath given so unamiable and joyless a picture of the " fortunata " nemora," that they can raise no desire or appetite for them; defeating thereby the intent of the legislator in propagating the belief of them. He makes even his favourite hero himself, who possessed them, tell Ulysses, that he had rather be a day-labourer above, than command the regions of the dead: and all his heroes in general are described as in an unhappy state: nay, to mortify every excitement to great and virtuous actions, he makes reputation, fame, and glory, the great spurs to well-doing in the Pagan world, and which in no world should be entirely taken off, to be visionary and impertinent. On the contrary, Virgil, whose sole aim, in this Poem, was the good of society, makes fame and love of glory so strong passions in the other world, that the Sibyl's promise to Palinurus, only that his name should be perpetuated, rejoices his shade even in the regions of the unhappy:

> " Aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit:
> " His dictis curae emotae, pulsusque parumper
> " Corde dolor tristi gaudet cognomine terra."

It was this ungracious description of the other world, and the licentious stories of the Gods, both so pernicious to society, that made Plato banish Homer out of his Republic.

But to return.—The Poet having described the climate of the happy regions, speaks next of the amusements of its inhabitants.

> " Pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris;
> " Contendunt ludo, et fulva luctantur arena."

Besides the obvious allusion, in these lines, to the philosophy of Plato, concerning the duration of the passions, it seems to have a more secret one to what he had all the way in his eye, the Eleusinian Mysteries; whose celebration was accompanied with the Grecian Games. On which account too, perhaps, it

was that, in the disposition of his work, his fifth book is employed in the Games, as a prelude to the Descent in the sixth.

1. The first place, in the happy regions, the poet gives to the legislators, and those who brought mankind from a state of nature into society:

> " Magnanimi Heroës, nati melioribus annis."

At the head of these is Orpheus, the most renowned of the European legislators; but better known under the character of Poet: for the first laws being written in measure, to allure men to learn them, and when learnt, to retain them; the fable would have it, that Orpheus softened the savages of Thrace by the force of harmony:

> " —— Threïcius longâ cum veste sacerdos
> " Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum."

But he has the first place, because he was not only a lawgiver, but the bringer of the Mysteries into that part of Europe.

2. The next place is allotted to patriots, and those who died for the service of their country:

> " Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi."

3. The third to virtuous and pious priests:

> " Quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat;
> " Quique pii vates et Phoebo digna locuti."

For it was of principal use to society, that religious men should lead holy lives, and teach nothing of the Gods but what was agreeable to the Divine Nature.

4. The last place is given to the inventors of arts mechanical and liberal:

> " Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes;
> " Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo."

The order is exact and beautiful. The first class consists of the founders of society, heroes, and lawgivers: the second, of its supporters, patriots and holy priests: and the third of those who adorned it, the inventors of the arts of life, and recorders of worthy actions.

Virgil has here all along closely followed the teachers in the Mysteries, who incessantly inculcated that virtue only could entitle men to happiness; and that rites, ceremonies, lustrations, and sacrifices could not supply the want of it.

But now, notwithstanding the entire conformity between all these scenes and those represented in the Mysteries, something is still wanting to give the last conviction to the truth of our

interpretation; and that is, the famous SECRET of the Mysteries, of which so much hath been said in the last Section; where we have endeavoured to bring it to light, and shew it to have been the doctrine of *the Unity of the Godhead.* Had Virgil neglected to give us this principal circumstance, though we must needs have said his intention was *to represent an Initiation*, we had been forced to own he had done it imperfectly. But he was too good a painter, to leave any thing ambiguous in his drawings; and hath therefore concluded his hero's initiation, as was the custom, with instructing him in the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, or the doctrine of the Unity. Till this was done, the initiated was not arrived to the highest stage of perfection; nor was in the fullest sense entitled to the appellation of ΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ.

Musaeus, therefore, who had been hierophant at Athens, is made to conduct him to the place, where his father's shade opens to him this hidden doctrine of perfection, in these sublime words:

"Principio coelum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
"Lucentemque globum Lunae, Titaniaque astra
"SPIRITUS INTUS ALIT, totamque infusa per artus
"MENS agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
"Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitaeque volantum,
"Et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus."

This was no other than the doctrine of the old Egyptians, as we are assured by Plato, who says (in Cratylo), they taught that Jupiter was the "Spirit which pervadeth all things."

We shall shew how easily the Greek philosophy corrupted this principle into (what is now called) Spinozism (Book 3. Sect. 4.) Here Virgil has approved his judgment to great advantage. Nothing was more abhorrent from the Mysteries than Spinozism, as it overturned the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, which the Mysteries so diligently inculcated; and yet the principle itself, of which Spinozism was the abuse, was cherished there, as it was the consequence of the doctrine of the Unity, the grand secret of the Mysteries. Virgil, therefore, delivers the principle with great caution, and pure and free of the abuse; though he understood the nature of Spinozism, and, by the following lines in his Fourth Georgic, appears to have been infected with it:

——— "Deum namque ire per omnes
"Terrasque tractusque maris, coelumque profundum
"Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum
"Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas.
"Scilicet huc *reddi denique ac resoluta referri*
"Omnia."——

But the Mysteries did not teach the doctrine of the Unity for mere speculation; but, as we said before, to obviate certain mischiefs of polytheism, and to support the belief of a Providence. Now, as a *future* state of rewards and punishments did not quite remove the objections to its inequalities here, the Mysteries added to it the doctrine of the Metempsychosis, or the belief of a prior state[x]. And this, likewise, our Poet has been careful to record. For after having revealed the great secret of the Unity, he goes on to speak of the Metempsychosis, or transmigration, in the following manner:

"Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvêre per annos,
"Lethaeum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno
"Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant,
"Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti."

And thence takes occasion to explain the nature and use of a Popish Purgatory, which, in his hero's passage through that region, had not been done: this affords him also a fine opportunity for that noble episode, the procession of the hero's posterity, which passes in review before him: and with this the scene closes. One might well allow Virgil the use of so important a digression (considering who it was whom he celebrated under the name of Aeneas), though it had been foreign to the nature of the Mysteries he is describing. But indeed he was even here following their customs very closely. It was then, and had been for some time, the practice of the Mysteries, when communicated to any aspirant of distinguished quality, to exhibit to him, in their Shews and Representations, something oracular, relating to his own fortune and affairs. Thus Himerius tells us that Olympias, on her uprising, after the birth of Alexander the Great, was initiated into the Samothracian Mysteries; where, in the Shews, she saw her husband Philip, at that time in Potidaea.

We have, in attending the hero's progress through the three estates of the dead, at almost every step he made, shewn from some ancient author the exact conformity of his adventures to those of the initiated in the Mysteries. We shall now collect all these scattered lights to a point; which will, I am persuaded, throw such a lustre on our interpretation, as will make the truth irresistible. To this purpose I shall beg leave to transcribe a remarkable passage of an ancient writer, preserved by Stobaeus: which is as exact a description of Aeneas's adventure, as of that it was designed for, namely, the Shews of the Mysteries. His words are these: "The mind is affected in Death, just as it is "in the initiation into the grand Mysteries. And word answers

[x] Vid. Porph. de Abst. Lib. 4. sect. 16. et Cic. Frag. ex lib. de Philosophia.

" to word, as well as thing to thing: for ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΝ is, to " die; and ΤΕΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ, to be initiated. The first stage is " nothing but errors and uncertainties; laborious wanderings; " a rude and fearful march through night and darkness. And " now arrived on the verge of Death, and Initiation, every " thing wears a dreadful aspect: it is all horror, trembling, " sweating, and affrightment. But this scene once past, a " miraculous and divine light discloses itself: and shining plains " and flowery meadows open on all hands before them. Here " they are entertained with hymns and dances, with the sublime " doctrines of sacred knowledge, and with reverend and holy " visions. And now become perfect and initiated they are free, " and no longer under restraints; but crowned and triumphant, " they walk up and down the regions of the blessed; converse " with pure and holy men; and celebrate the sacred Mysteries " at pleasure[g]."

The progress finished, and every thing over, Aeneas and his guide are let out again to the upper regions, through the ivory gate. For we are told there are two; one of horn and the other of ivory; and that true visions proceed from the first, and false from the latter.

> " Sunt geminae Somni portae: quarum altera fertur
> " Cornea, quâ veris facilis datur exitus umbris:
> " Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
> " Sed falsa ad coelum mittunt insomnia manes.
> " His ubi tum natum Anchises, unaque Sibyllam
> " Prosequitur dictis, portâque emittit eburnâ."

Upon which Servius, with the cold sentiments of a grammarian, only says, " Vult autem intelligi, falsa esse omnia quae dixit." He would have you understand by this, that all he has been saying is false and groundless. And this is the common interpretation of the critics. Ruaeus, one of the best of them, speaks to the same purpose: " Cum igitur Virgilius Aeneam " eburneâ portâ emittit, indicat profecto, quidquid à se de illo " inferorum aditu dictum est, in fabulis esse numerandum." This conclusion is strengthened by the circumstance of Virgil's being an epicurean; and speaking to the same purpose, in his second Georgic:

> " Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
> " Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
> " Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari!"

But what a wretched conclusion do these men make the divine Poet put to this master-piece of all his works! which he wrote,

[g] Sermo cxix.

not to amuse old women and children in a winter's evening, in the taste of the Milesian Fables; but for the use of men and citizens; to instruct them in the duties of humanity and society. His ends, therefore, in this book must have been, first, to make the doctrine of a future state useful in civil life; which it is evident he has done in the distribution of the rewards and punishments of it. Secondly, to set his hero on an adventure worthy his character. Now, if we will believe our critics, when he has strained all his nerves, throughout a whole book, to compass these ends, and got at length to the conclusion, he wantonly defeats them with one senseless dash of his pen; that speaks to this effect: "I have laboured, countrymen, to draw "you to virtue, and to deter you from vice, in order to make "every particular, and society in general, flourishing and "happy. And doing this by example, I have inculcated the "truths I would teach you in the adventures of your great an-"cestor and founder; of whom, to do you the greater honour, "I have made an accomplished hero; and put upon the most "divine and hazardous undertaking, the instituting a civil "policy; and, to sanctify his character, and add sanction to his "laws, I have sent him on the errand you see here related: but "lest the adventure should do you any service, or my hero any "honour, I must inform you, that all this talk of a future state "is an idle, childish notion, and our hero's part therein only a "Lenten dream. In a word, all that you have heard, must "pass for an unmeaning revery; from which you are to draw "no consequences, but that the Poet was in a capricious hu-"mour, and disposed to laugh at your superstitions."—At this rate, I say, is Virgil made to speak, in the interpretation of antient and modern critics.

The truth is, this difficulty can never be got over, but upon our interpretation, that the story of the Descent signifies only an initiation into the Mysteries. This will unriddle the aenigma, and restore the Poet to himself. For if this was Virgil's intention, it is to be presumed, he would give some private mark to ascertain his meaning; for which no place was so proper as the conclusion. He has therefore, with a beauty of invention peculiar to him, made this fine improvement on Homer's story of the two gates; who imagined that of horn for true visions, and that of ivory for false. By the first, Virgil insinuates the reality of another state; and by the second, the shadowy representations of it in the shews of the Mysteries: so that the visions of Aeneas were false, not as there was no ground or foundation for a future state; but, as those he saw, were not indeed in hell, but in the temple of Ceres. The representation being called ΜΥΘΟΣ κατ' ἐξοχήν. And this we propose as the true meaning of

"Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto:
"Sed falsa ad coelum mittunt insomnia manes."

For *falsa insomnia* do not signify *lying* but *shadowy dreams*. Thus the Roman widow, in the famous sepulchral inscription[z], begs the Dii manes to be so indulgent to her husband's shade, that she may see him in her dreams; that is, seem to see him, as the shade of Hector was seen by Aeneas,

"In somnis ecce ante oculos moestissimus Hector
"Visus adesse mihi"———

and this, in distinction from what that Roman widow makes the other part of her prayer, viz., to be *really* joined to him in the other world. But though the dream that issued from it was unsubstantial, I make no question but the ivory gate itself was real. It appears, indeed, to be neither more nor less than the sumptuous gate of the Temple, through which the initiated came out when the celebration was over. This was of an immense bigness, as appears from the words of Apuleius: "Senex "comissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas fores *aedis amplis-* "*simae*[a]." Strabo is more particular. Next (says he) is Eleusis, in which is the Temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, and the mystic cell built by Ictinus, "capable of holding as large a number as a theatre[b]." But Vitruvius's description of it is still more curious: "Eleusinae Cereris et Proserpinae cellam im- "mani magnitudine Ictinus Dorico more, sine exterioribus co- "lumnis ad laxamentum usus sacrificiorum pertexit. Eam "autem postea, cum Demetrius Phalereus Athenis rerum poti- "retur, Philon ante Templum in fronte columnis constitutis "Prostylon fecit. Ita aucto vestibulo laxamentum initiantibus "operisque summam adjecit autoritatem[c]." And Aristides thought this the most extraordinary circumstance in the whole affair. But this, (says he) was most wonderful and divine, that this of all the public assemblies of Greece, was the only one which was contained together within one edifice[d].

Here was room, we see, and so purposely contrived, for all these shews and representations. And now, as we have said so much of them, yet occasionally, and by parts, it will not be amiss, before we conclude, to give a general and concise idea of them. I take the substance of the celebration to be a kind of drama of the history of Ceres, which afforded opportunity to represent these three things, about which the Mysteries were prin-

[z] Apud Grut. P. 786.

[a] Metam. l. 11.

[b] Εἶτ' Ἐλευσὶν πόλις, ἐν ᾗ τὸ της Δήμητρος ἱερὸν της Ἐλευσινίας, και ὁ μυστικὸς σηκὸς, ὃ κατεσκεύασεν Ἰκτῖνος, ὄχλον θεάτρου δέξασθαι δυνάμενον,——— Lib. 9. Geog.

[c] De Architec. Praef. ad l. 7.

[d] Τὸ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον, μόνην γὰρ ταύτην πανηγύρεων εἷς οἶκος συλλαβὼν εἶχε. Eleusin. Orat.

cipally concerned. 1. The rise and establishment of Civil Society. 2. The doctrine of a future state of Rewards and Punishments. 3. The detection of the Error of Polytheism, and the principle of the Unity. The goddess's Legislation in Sicily and Attica, at both which places she was said to civilize the savage manners of the inhabitants, gave birth to the first[e]; her search for her daughter Proserpine in hell, to the second; and her resentment against the Gods for the theft, to the third[f].

I have now gone through my explanation of this famous voyage. And, if I be not greatly deceived, the view in which I have placed it, not only clears up and explains a number of difficulties inexplicable on any other scheme; but likewise gives an uncommon grace and elegance of perfection to the whole Poem: for now this famous Episode appears to be entirely of a piece with the main subject; which is the erection of a civil Policy and a Religion: For custom had made initiation into the Mysteries an indispensable preparative to that arduous undertaking.

Thus far then concerning the Legislator's care to perpetuate the doctrine of a future state: and if we have been longer than ordinary on this head, our excuse is, that this doctrine is the main subject of our general inquiry. That the magistrate cultivated the belief of it, with a more than common labour, is evident from this very extraordinary circumstance.—There are several savage nations, discovered by modern travellers, which, in the revolutions and distractions of Government, being forced to remove their seats, it is probable, have fallen from a civilized, to a barbarous life. These are found to be without any knowledge of a God, or appearance of Religion: and yet, which is wonderful, to entertain the belief and expectation of a future state. A miracle that can be accounted for in no other way, than by what has been said above of the Legislator's principal concern in the support of this doctrine; and of the deep root it takes in the mind, by its agreeable nature, when once it is received. So that though, as we have observed, "no Religion "ever existed without the doctrine of a future state, yet the "doctrine of a future state has existed without Religion."

[e] That the establishment of society or the image of savage and polished manners was represented in the Mysteries, I collect from several circumstances. Diodorus tells us, that in the Sicilian feasts of Ceres, which lasted ten days, was represented the antient manner of living, before men had learned the use and culture of Bread Corn. Τῆς δὲ Δήμητρος τὸν καιρὸν της θυσίας προέκριναν ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὁ σπόρος τοῦ σίτου λαμβάνει. Ἐπὶ δὲ ἡμέρας Ι' πανήγυριν ἄγουσιν ἐπώνυμον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, τῇ τε λαμπρότητι της παρασκευής μεγαλοπρεπεστάτην, καὶ τῇ ΔΙΑΣΚΕΥΗ ΜΙΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΝ ΒΙΟΝ. P. 200. Steph. Ed.

[f] This circumstance Apollodorus informs us of; his words are these: Μαθοῦσα δὲ παρ ἑρμήνεων, ὅτι Πλούτων αὐτὴν ἥρπασεν, ΟΡΓΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ ΘΕΟΙΣ, ΑΠΕΛΕΙΠΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ. εἰκασθεῖσα δὲ γυναικὶ; ἧκεν εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα· Bibl. l. 1, c. 5.

JORTIN'S
CRITICAL REMARKS
ON
VIRGIL.

[It was at first the Editor's intention to have arranged the following Remarks of Dr. Jortin on Virgil in the order in which they apply to the respective Books, beginning with the Georgics; but this was found impracticable, owing to the peculiar manner in which a number of these Remarks originated, and the various communications which at distant intervals of time were submitted to the learned Author, arising from previous criticisms on disputed passages, or from erroneous interpretation of words.

An Index, therefore, is prefixed to this portion of the Work, to enable the Reader to refer to every passage whereon any remark is made.]

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JORTIN'S
CRITICAL REMARKS
ON
VIRGIL.

Virgil is so good a poet, that it is almost ridiculous to commend him. If I should say that he is the best of the Latin poets, I should only add my opinion to that of all good judges. I rather choose to observe that he is not much superior to Lucretius, and that it was no small advantage to him to have had so excellent a poet before him. If any one thinks that Lucretius ought not to be placed so near to Virgil, let him try whether he can find better lines in Virgil than these:

" Apparet Divum numen, sedesque quietae:
" Quas neque concutiunt venti, neque nubila nimbis
" Adspergunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina
" Cana cadens violat; semperque innubilus aether
" Integit, et large diffuso lumine ridet." iii. 18.

Of all the Latin poets, none has come down to us less corrupted than Virgil, which is owing, amongst other causes, to the ancient manuscripts, which Pierius made so good use of, and to the notes of Servius.

Georg. II. 285.

Virgil advises to set trees at certain distances from each other, in a regular order,

" Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem;
" Sed quia non aliter vires dabit omnibus aequas
" Terra."

Perhaps it might be,

—— " prospectus inanis."

U

Not only for the bare pleasure which arises from a regular prospect, but because the trees thrive the better.

Aen. I. 468.

——— "Animum pictura pascit inani."

GEORG. III. 432.

Speaking of a serpent, he says,

"Postquam exusta palus, terraeque ardore dehiscunt,
"Exsilit in siccum, et flammantia lumina torquens
"Saevit agris, asperque siti atque exterritus aestu."

"Exterritus aestu," frightened at the heat. I used to think it should be "exercitus aestu," tormented with heat. I find in Ursinus, that "exercitus" is in a very good manuscript which he made use of.

GEORG. IV. 405.

"Verum ubi correptum manibus vinctisque tenebis;"

Might it not be, "manicis." So ver. 439,

——— "manicisque jacentem occupat."

Aen. II. 145.

"Ipse viro primus manicas atque arcta levari
"Vincla jubet Priamus."

But I think the common reading may do very well.

GEORG. IV. 415.

——— "Liquidum ambrosiae diffundit odorem:
"Quo totum nati corpus perduxit."

Servius his note is "Unxit eum quo posset esse videndi numinis capax." It should be, I think, "vincendi," or "vinciendi numinis capax." She anointed him to give him strength to struggle with Proteus. I suppose that was what Servius intended to say; and it seems confirmed by what follows in Virgil,

"Habilis membris venit vigor."

See Hom. Odyss. Δ. v. 384, *&c.*, whom Virgil has here imitated.

GEORG. IV. 516.

"Nulla Venus, non ulli animum flexere hymenaei."

Some copies have,

—— "Nullique animum."

Perhaps it should be,

"Nulla Venus, nulli animum flexere hymenaei."

Virgil has a great many such hiatus's. And, wherever almost an hiatus occurs, the transcribers have botched up the verse one foolish way or other, as appears from the various readings.

AEN. I. 271.

"At puer Ascanius, (cui nunc cognomen Iulo
"Additur, Ilus erat dum res stetit Ilia regno)
"Triginta."——

I believe if Virgil had revised his poem he would have struck out what is here in a parenthesis. They are the words of Jupiter to Venus, who could not want to be informed of any of the names of Ascanius.

AEN. I. 604.

——"Grates persolvere dignas
"Non opis est nostrae, Dido——
"Dii tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid
"Usquam justitiae est, et mens sibi conscia recti
"Praemia digna ferant."

Perhaps it should be "ferent." That is, "Dii tibi, et conscientia, qua nullum virtuti theatrum majus est, reddent praemia, "quibus nos non sumus reddendis." So Aen. IX. 252. Aletes, praising Nisus and Euryalus says;

"Quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis
"Praemia posse rear solvi? pulcherrima primum
"Dii moresque dabunt vestri."

So here it may be with "ferent;" that it may be an affirmation and not a wish. Though we cannot reward you, you cannot miss of a recompense.

AEN. II. 154.

Sinon says,

"Vos, aeterni ignes, et non violabile vestrum
"Testor numen."——

By "aeterni ignes," are understood the sun and moon, or the sun, moon, and stars, to whom they used commonly to address

themselves in their most solemn oaths and invocations. A learned author corrects this place, and reads,

—— "et non violabile Vestae
"Testor numen."

Thus he makes "aeterni ignes" to signify the sacred fires of Vesta, which were kept ever burning; and thus Sinon swears by what was most sacred amongst the Trojans.

Aen. II. 296.

"Sic ait: et manibus vittas, Vestamque potentem,
"Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem."

The alteration is very ingenious; but there is a difficulty attending it, which arises from Sinon's behaviour and gesture when he swears. In Homer, when Althaea, the mother of Meleager, calls upon the Gods below to punish her son, she strikes the ground with her hand,

———————— "ἣ ῥα θεοῖσι
"Πόλλ' ἀχέουσ' ἠρᾶτο, κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο·
"Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ΓΑΙΑΝ πολυφόρβην ΧΕΡΣΙΝ ΑΛΟΙΑ,
"Κικλήσκουσ' Αΐδην, καὶ ἐπαινὴν Περσεφόνειαν,
"Πρόχνυ καθεζομένη, δεύοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι,
"Παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον· τῆσδ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐριννὺς
"Ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβευσφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα." Il. I. 562.

And when Juno calls upon the infernal Deities, she uses the same action,

"Αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἠρᾶτο βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,
"ΧΕΙΡΙ ΚΑΤΑΠΡΗΝΕΙ Δ' ΕΛΑΣΕ ΧΘΟΝΑ, καὶ
"φάτο μῦθον,
"Κέκλυτε νῦν μοι, Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθεν,
"Τιτῆνές τε θεοὶ, τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες
"Τάρταρον ἀμφὶ μέγαν." Hymn. ad Apollin. ver. 332.

In Virgil, when Cloanthus makes a vow to the sea-gods, he stretches out his hands to the waves.

Aen. V. 233.

—— "palmas ponto tendens utrasque Cloanthus."

Sinon lifts up his hands to the skies,

"Sustulit exutas vinclis ad sidera palmas;"

And says immediately,

"Vos aeterni ignes."——

By which words, if Vesta's fires had been meant, Sinon would have stretched out his hands towards Troy, where those fires were burning.

AEN. II. 213.

—— " Et primum parva duorum
" Corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
" Inplicat, et miseros morsu depascitur artus."

There is no fault to be found with this reading. But I fancy that in Servius's copy it was,

—— " teneros morsu depascitur artus."

For this is his note; " IMPLICAT. Hoc ad mollitiem infantum " corporis dixit." There is no sense in this. To make sense of it, it must be, " TENEROS. Hoc ad mollitiem," *&c.* But I will not be positive that even thus there is much sense in it, or that this note was written by Servius.

AEN. III. 70.

—— " Et lenis crepitans vocat Auster in altum."

Some MSS. have " lene;" which Cunningham, in his Horace, says is the true reading. I think he is mistaken. If you place the words thus in construction,

" Lenis Auster crepitans vocat,"——

you may defend it by an hundred examples; nothing being more commonly to be met with in the best poets than two epithets, one of which is a participle.

Georg. IV. 19.

—— " tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus."

Ibid. 425.

" Jam rapidus torrens sitientes Sirius Indos."

Aen. XI. 490.

" Fulgebatque alta decurrens aureus arce."

Ibid. 832.

—— " immensus surgens ferit aurea clamor
" Sidera."

So that Servius trifles when he says, " Duo epitheta posuit " vitiose."

But I understand the place thus; " Auster, lenis crepitans,

"i. e. leniter crepitans, vocat in altum." An adjective is often more elegant than an adverb.

Georg. I. 163.

" Tardaque Eleusinae matris volventia plaustra."

Georg. III. 28.

—— " undantem bello, magnumque fluentem
" Nilum."

Aen. IX. 755.

—— " et sibilat ore
" Arduus insurgens."

AEN. XII.

" Altior insurgens, et cursu concitus heros."

Besides the letter *s* repeated in lenis, crepitans seems better to express what Virgil elsewhere calls,

" Venientis sibilus Austri,"

than " lene crepitans" does.

Observe also that Virgil expresses himself in another place in the same manner on a like occasion. Aen. V. 764.

" Creber et aspirans rursus vocat Auster in altum."

So Homer, speaking of a brother of Auster,

" Ὡς δ' ὅτε κινήσει ζέφυρος βαθὺ λήϊον ἐλθὼν
" ΛΑΒΡΟΣ ΕΠΑΙΓΙΖΩΝ." Il. B. 147.

The adjective, as I said, is often elegantly put in the place of the adverb. Take these passages of Horace for examples;

" Ut pura nocturno renidet
" Luna mari." Carm. II. v. 19.

" Nec *vespertinus* circumgemit ursus ovile."
Epod. XVI. 51.

So Milton, Paradise Lost, Book VII. 305.

" All but within those banks, where rivers now
" Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train."

AEN. IV. 500.

" Non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris
" Germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores
" Concipit, aut graviora timet, quam morte Sichaei.
" Ergo jussa parat."

If "concipit furores mente," be the same thing as "furit," (and I do not see what else it can mean,) then this place cannot be right. It must be,

——— "nec tantos mente furores
"*Concipere.*"

In this book, ver. 474, the poet says of Dido,

"Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore,
"Decrevitque mori."———

AEN. IV. 632.

"Tum breviter Barcen nutricem affata Sichaei,
"*Namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat:*"

This second line does not appear to be Virgil's; "cinis ater habebat suam patria antiqua," is an unusual expression.

AEN. V. 495.

"Tertius Eurytion, tuus, O clarissime, frater,
"Pandare: qui quondam, jussus confundere foedus,
"In medios telum torsisti primus Achivos."

Minerva persuaded Pandarus to do this base action.

"Τῷ δὲ φρένας ἄφρονι πεῖθεν." Hom. Il. Δ. 104.

Which made me fancy that it might be,

"*Suasus* confundere foedus."

But "jussus" is better. It became Virgil to favour as much as he possibly could the Trojans and their friends. And therefore he says "jussus" to excuse the conduct of this hero.

AEN. VII. 443.

"Cura tibi divum effigies et templa tueri:
"Bella viri pacemque *gerant.*"

Pierius says that all the old MSS. have "gerent." Why should we not read so then?

Virgil here copies Homer, who says, πόλεμος δ' ἄνδρεσσι μελήσει. Il. Z.

AEN. VII. 674.

"Ceu duo nubigenae cum vertice montis ab alto
"Descendunt Centauri, Homolen Othrymque nivalem
"Linquentes cursu rapido: dat euntibus ingens
"Silva locum, et magno cedunt virgulta fragore"

Servius's note is "cum utique cedit silva, cedunt et virgulta—
"A minore autem ad majus venire debuerat." The observation is just. This beautiful description is unhappily closed. Nothing can be greater than,

—— "dat euntibus ingens
"Silva locum."

It should not have been followed by,

—— "magno cedunt virgulta fragore."

Aen. VIII. 131.

Aeneas addressing himself to Evander, says,

"Sed mea me virtus, et sancta oracula Divum,
"Cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
"Conjunxere tibi, et fatis egere volentem."

Poetical heroes are commonly great braggers. Aeneas says, in another place;

"Disce puer virtutem ex me——."

But I cannot see why he should talk so here. If I had the authority of any books, I should choose to transpose two half lines, and correct the place thus;

"Sed *tua* me virtus, *tua terris didita fama*,
"Cognatique patres, *et sancta oracula Divum*,
"Conjunxere tibi."——

Aen. VIII. 630.

"Fecerat et viridi foetum Mavortis in autro
"Procubuisse lupam: geminos huic ubera circum
"Ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem
"Impavidos: illam tereti cervice reflexam
"Mulcere alternos, et corpora fingere lingua."

Is not "Mulcere alternos" too bold an expression, since motion cannot be represented in a picture? I dare not condemn it. Virgil here has borrowed half a verse from Cicero, De Nat. Deor. ii. 42.

"Obstipum caput et *tereti cervice reflexum*."

That was robbing the hospital.

Aen. XI. 705.

—— "Quid tam egregium si foemina forti
"Fidis equo? dimitte fugam, et te cominus aequo
"Mecum crede solo, pugnaeque accinge pedestri:
"Jam nosces, ventosa ferat cui gloria laudem."

Servius says that the true reading is "fraudem." He says, "Haec est vera et antiqua lectio, ut *fraudem*, non *laudem* "legas; ut, si fraudem legeris, sit sensus: Pedes congredere; "jam cognosces cui inanis jactantia afferat poenam: nam *frau-* "*dem*, veteres poenam vocabant.——Si autem *laudem* lege- "rimus, erit census: agnosces cui inanis gloria afferat laudem. "*Ventosa* autem *gloria* est, quam Graeci κενοδοξίαν vocant." Servius, you see, at first roundly asserts that "fraudem" is the true reading; and then he endeavours to explain the other reading,—"ventosa ferat cui gloria laudem," but he makes strange work of it. Pierius says; "Romanus codex *fraudem* "habet; quum tamen plerique alii veteres *laudem* legant. "Servius a Romano codice stat, qui *fraudem* veram esse lec- "tionem putat; cuique ita si legendum, quasdam affert ra- "tiones. Contra Ti. Donatus *laudem* agnoscit, hac periphrasi: "Experiundo cognosces quis debeat jure meritoque laudari. "Utra potior sit sententia, quum non veteres tantum codices, "verum et opinatissimi Grammatici diversa tradant, aliorum "arbitrio judicandum reliqui. Est etiam in Mediceo *feret*."

I shall follow Pierius, in not determining which of these two readings should be preferred. If the true reading be "laudem," I think "ventosa" must be a vocative case. "Quit "your horse," says Aunus to Camilla, "and fight with me on "foot;"

"Jam nosces, ventosa, ferat cui gloria laudem,"

or, "feret."

"You that are so vain and proud, and think that no body is "equal to you, you shall then see whose the victory shall be."

Aen. XI. 405.

"Amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas."

Tanaquil Faber, in his Epistles, puts Appulus in the room of Aufidus. He did not give himself time to consider, that nothing is more common, both in verse and prose, than "amnis "Tiberinus, Nilus amnis, Indus flumen," *&c.*

VIRGIL.

I have received a letter from "Lincolniensis," relating to my observations on Virgil. I am glad to find that many of those observations have his approbation: I wish I better deserved the favourable opinion he is pleased to have of me, and I

return him many thanks for his kind wishes, and for the obliging liberty he has taken to dissent from me in some things, and to tell me wherein he thinks me mistaken.

He cannot agree with what I say, p. 277, of Virgil's being as little corrupted as any of the Latin poets. He is of opinion that the Aeneis is greatly corrupted, and wants a new edition as much as any Latin poem. What does he think then of Manilius and Statius, to mention no more, who are beyond all comparison more corrupted than Virgil? I agree with him, that a better edition of this poet might be published than has yet appeared, and I hope he has a design of obliging the world in that way.

Pag. 278. Georg. IV. 516.

He reads,

"Nulla Venus, *nulli illi* animum flexere Hymenaei."

I desire he would consider whether this correction does not make the verse too harsh, and destroy its harmony. In a melancholy subject verses should flow easy, as

"Illum etiam lauri, etiam flevere myricae:
"Pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe jacentem
"Maenalus, et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei."

Ecl. x. 13.

Pag. 279. Aen. I. 271.

He thinks the words which I have put in a parenthesis, are not the words of Jupiter to Venus, but of the poet to his reader. I cannot agree with him. But, if they are the poet's words, so much the worse. What occasion had he to break into Jupiter's speech, to tell us that Ascanius was once called Ilus, and afterwards Iulus? It was, indeed, necessary for Virgil to take notice that Ascanius was also called Iulus, and to mention it, before he paid his compliment to the Julian Family, ver. 292.

"*Julius a magno demissum nomen Iülo.*"

But I think he might have brought it in better.

Pag. 278. Georg. III. 432.

He says,

"You translate 'exterritus aestu,' 'frightened at the heat,'
"and read 'exercitus,' from the Colotian MS. whose various
"lections I have observed to be generally glosses. 'Exterritus'
"seems to me to be the true reading, ἐκπλαγεὶς, *stung* or *en-*
"*raged:* as a little before—

"oestro ——— exterrita silvis
"Diffugiunt armenta."

I am inclined to think, as this gentleman does, that "exterritus" is the true reading. Virgil may, perhaps, use "exterritus" for "turbatus," "agitatus," "vexatus," Aen. iv. 450, "fatis exterrita Dido." Where Servius says, "exterrita," "praecipitata," "turbata." My friend, Mr. Markland, alters this place, and reads "fatis exercita." See his reasons in his Epist. Crit. p. 117. Upon the whole, I think this place should not be altered without better authority than that of one MS., and I thank this gentleman for his observation upon it.

He is of opinion that this place should be thus read and distinguished;

——————— "asperque siti atque exterritus aestu,
"(Ne mihi tum molles sub dio carpere somnos,
"Neu dorso nemoris libeat jacuisse per herbas;
"Cum positis novus exuviis, nitidusque juventa
"Volvitur, aut catulos tectis aut ova relinquens)
"Arduus ad *solem linguis* micat ore trisulcis."

Instead of "—— solem, et linguis."

But there is another place in Virgil, which makes against his correction and distinction. It is this,

"Qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,
"Frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,
"Nunc positis novus exuviis nitidusque juventa,
"Lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga
"Arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis."
Aen. II. 471.

Observations communicated by an eminent Hand,

(Marked with the letter D.)

Virgil. Georg. III. 37.

"Invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum
"Cocyti metuet, tortosque Ixionis ANGUES,
"Immanemque rotam, et non exsuperabile Saxum."

Now, I say, no mythologer, poet, or scholiast, ever mentions "*angues*" as part of Ixion's punishment; all they say is, that he was fastened to a wheel which was perpetually in motion. Thus, for example, *Pindar*, Pyth. II. 2, 41.

"'Ιξίονα φαντὶ ταῦτα,
"Βροτοῖς λέγειν, ἐν ΠΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΙ ΤΡΟΧΩΙ
"Πάντα κυλινδόμενον."——

See also V. 72.

Euripides Phoeniss. 1191,

"Ὡς κύκλωμ' Ἰξίονος
"Ελίσσετ'."——

Apollonius Rhodius III. 62.

"Λυσόμενος ΧΑΛΚΕΩΝ Ἰξίονα νειόθι δεσμῶν."

Here his Scholiast, the most learned and the oldest of that sort of writers, has, "δὲ ποιήσας ΤΕΤΡΑΚΝΗΜΟΝ τροχὸν, δὲ δεσ-"μεύσας αὐτὸν τιμωρεῖται." By the way, let it be observed, that Virgil is very much obliged to this author, and frequently imitates him.

Propertius IV. 11, 23.

"Sisyphe mole vaces, *taceant* Ixionis *orbes*."

Him, Ovid, Met. X. 42, evidently follows.

"Nec Tantalus undam
"Captavit refugam, *stupuitque* Ixionis *orbis*."

Prop. I. 9.

"Et magis infernae *vincula* nosse *rotae*."

Seneca Hippol. 1235.

"Et tu mei requiesce Pirithoi pater.
"Haec *incitatis* membra turbinibus ferat
"Nusquam resistens *orbe revoluto rota*."

Severus Aetn. 81.

—— "Minos, tuaque Æace in umbris
"Jura canunt, idemque *rotant* Ixionis *orbem*."

Tibullus, I. iii. 73.

"Illic Junonem tentare Ixionis ausi
"*Versantur celeri* noxia membra *rota*."

Ov. Met. IV. 456.

"*Volvitur* Ixion, et se sequiturque fugitque."

Diodorus IV. p. 272. "εἰς τροχὸν ἐνδεθῆναι, καὶ τελευτήσαντα τὴν "τιμωρίαν ἔχειν αἰώνιον."

See also Lucian, who speaks to the same purpose, Deorum Dial. 197.

Hyginus, cap. 62. "Ixionem ad inferos *in rota constrinxit*, "quae ibi adhuc dicitur verti."

Auctor *apud Suidam*, p. 120. "ὁ Ζεὺς κολάζει αὐτὸν τροχῷ "ΔΙΑΤΕΙΝΩΝ ἀεὶ φερομένῳ καὶ ἀνακυκλουμένῳ." From this

consentient testimony of the ancients, I prefer the reading of the Roman codex to fifty other MSS. and as many editors:

"Tortosque Ixionis *orbes*."

Pierius noted, but durst not admit it into the text, as imagining "orbis" and "rota" denoted the same thing; whereas, the former evidently signifies "volutus." Nay, even supposing his objection to be true, would not Virgil himself support the word he struck out. Georg. IV. 484.

"Atque Ixionii vento *rota* constitit orbis?"

In short, the only argument that can be brought for the former reading is, that Virgil, Aen. VI. has,

"Continuo *sontes* ultrix accincta flagello
"Tissiphone quatit insultans, *torvosque* sinistra
"*Intentans angues.*"———

Or rather "tortosque." And a little further, speaking of Ixion, Pirithous, and the Lapithae, adds,

———"Lucent genialibus altis
"Aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae—
"——— Furiarum maxima juxta
"Adcubat, et *manibus* prohibet contingere mensas,
"Exsurgitque *facem* attollens, atque intonat ore."

But in the first of these places Ixion is not mentioned, nor "angues" in the second.

I must do Mr. Markland the justice to own, that when I communicated this emendation to him, I found he had come very near the truth without the help of any MS.

"Tortosque Ixionis *axes*."

And thus we have got rid of a blunder of 1500 years standing.

Aen. IV. 501.

———"Nec tantos mente furores
"*Concipit.*"

Pag. 282—I alter this place, and read "*Concipere*," which conjecture I confirm by Aen. IV. 474; to which may be added Ovid. Met. II. 640.

"Ergo ubi fatidicos *concepit mente furores.*"

But there is a place in Ovid which seems to make against me, Met. X. 402.

> " Myrrha, patre audito, suspiria duxit ab imo
> " Pectore, nec nutrix etiamnum concipit ullum
> " Mente nefas ; aliquem que tamen praesentit amorem."

Here "nefas mente concipit," is very like

> ——— " nec tantos mente furores
> " Concipit."

GEORG. II. 392.

He says of Bacchus,

> " Et quocunque Deus circum caput egit honestum."

The word "honestus" here, and in many other places, signifies "beautiful," "graceful." Dryden seems to use the word "honest" in the same manner, but unsuccessfully, I think; for it conveys a low idea;

> " So Bacchus through the conquered Indies rode,
> " And beasts in gambols frisked before their honest God."
> Palamon and Arcite. B. III.

But perhaps Dryden might design to use the word "honest" in a low and ludicrous way. If he did, he was injudicious in doing so.

GEORG. IV. 405.

> " Verum ubi correptum *manibus* vinclisque tenebis."

Pag. 278—I propose—" manicis." So in Ov. we have " laqueis vincloque."

> " Ignaram *laqueis vincloque* innecte tenaci."

Met. XI. 252, where a story is told just like this in Virgil.

AEN. I. 604.

> " Praemia digna *ferant*."

Pag. 279—I offered as a conjecture " ferent." Statius seems to favour my conjecture, Theb. VIII. 377, where he seems to imitate Virgil,

> " Non ego vos stimulare parem,———
> " Nec laudare satis, dignasque rependere grates
> " Sufficiam. *Referent superi*."

Remarks from (D.) *in confirmation of some former.*

GEORG. III. 37.

——— "Tortosque Ixionis *orbes.*" pag. 287.

1. It is the Author's expression. Aen. XII.

"Haud minus Aeneas *tortos* legit obvius *orbes.*"

2. Add to the testimony of Euripides, Idem Herc. Fur. 1297.

——— "τὸν ἁρματηλάτην
"Ἰξίον', ΕΝ ΔΕΣΜΟΙΣΙΝ ἐκμιμήσομαι."

3. I have a suspicion the passage has been altered by a monk who had read (as many of them had) in Seneca's Thyest. 96, the words of Tantalus to Megaera:

"Quid ora terres verbere, et *tortos* ferox
"Minaris *angues.*"

Communicated.

AEN. I. 453.

———"Foribus cardo stridebat *ahenis.*"

I believe that Virgil wrote "ahenus;" for Servius's note on the place is this: "ad sua retulit tempora Virgilius: cautum enim fuerat post proditum a Tarpeia virgine Capitolium, ut aerei cardines fierent, quorum stridor possit aperta ostia omnibus indicare:" In the "Ciris," verse 222, we have

——— "sonitum nam fecerat illi
"Marmoreo aeratus stridens in limine cardo."

Which passage confirms the reading, "ahenus."

AEN. II. 121.

———"ui fata *parent*, quem poscat Ap ollo."

The commentators take "fata" here for the nominative case, and suppose "mortem" to be understood after the verb "parent;" but this is a way of expressing himself which Virgil is not accustomed to follow: perhaps he wrote,

——— "cui fata *paret*, quem poscat Apollo,"

where the construction is, "cui Apollo paret fata;" i.e. "mortem;" for that is the known sense of "fata" sometimes, as in the Poem ad Liviam, verse 357, "fata manent omnes." Servius's Commentary on the place, "cui responsa praeparent mortem,"

will suit as well the reading which I propose, as that which the Editors follow: or rather it seems to favour mine.

AEN. IV. 256.

"Haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat;
"Litus arenosum Libyae ventosque secabat
"Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles."

The learned have generally thought this place corrupted; for what is "secare litus?" Dr. Bentley therefore proposes that we should read,

"Litus arenosum Libyae ventosque *legabat*,"

because Virgil in another place says,

"Litoraque Epiri legimus;"———

But then what is "legere ventos?" It is observable that the Paris, the Medicean, and some other MSS., place the third verse before the second;

"Haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat,
"Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles
"Litus arenosum Libyae, ventosque secabat."

According to this order of the verses, the word "litus" may be the accusative case, governed of "veniens," though the preposition "ad" be not expressed, as Aen. I. 2.—"Lavinaque venit Litora." II. 742.—"Sedemque sacratam Venimus."

But without changing the order of the verses, this passage may be set to rights; for Pierius testifies that in the greatest part of the MSS. he found "Litus arenosum *ac* Libyae," and in some "et" instead of "ac:" but the Trin. MSS. has "Litus arenosum *ad* Libyae;" and this perhaps is the true reading; for it is not unusual with this author to throw the preposition out of its natural place, as in Aen. III. 58. "Delectos populi ad proceres." And in Georg. II. 506.

"Sarrano in dormiat ostro."

Communicated from (R.)

AEN. IV. 256.

"Haud aliter terras," &c.

In the former remarks upon this passage, I find that I trusted too much to my memory, and thereby did a great injustice to

Dr. Bentley's correction. In his learned notes upon Horace, Carm. I. xxxiv. 5. he proposed to correct this place of Virgil, thus:

"Haud aliter, terras inter coelumque, *legebat*
"Litus arenosum Libyae, ventosque secabat, &c."

The conjecture is a very ingenious one, and well supported; it wants nothing but the authority of MSS. or old Commentators to ensure it. But after a review of his and my own attempts to amend this passage, I am almost inclined to think that the common reading may be justified, and that "volabat litus Libyae" may stand for, "Volabat ad litus Libyae," by an ellipsis of the praeposition; for when the verb expresses motion, the substantive, which signifies the place to which that motion is directed, is frequently put in the accusative case, without a praeposition; thus we read in Virgil, in addition to the instances before given, "devenere locos," "haec limina tendere adegit," "fines venturum Ausonios," "Libycas averteret oras."

Now I am upon Virgil again, I would offer one more emendation of that author.

GEORG. I. 360.

"Jam sibi tam curvis male temperat unda carinis."

In the Roman MS. Pierius found

"Jam sibi tum A curvis," &c.

And he says that Servius seems to acknowledge this reading: but Servius's copy rather ran thus:

"Jam sibi tum ET curvis male temperat unda carinis."

For his comment is this; "Sibi non pascit, sed crescit in perniciem suam (nam in carinam scindenda consurgit.) Et navigantium perniciem. *Temperat* autem absolute posuit: nam certe subauditur, male temperat seipsam sibi."

The common reading is not Latin, I think, and according to Servius's comment, A can have no place here, but a copulative is necessary between "sibi" and "carinis."

R.

Communicated.

An alteration of the following passage of Virgil has already been mentioned:

"Invidia infelix furias, amnemque severum
"Cocyti metuet, tortosq: Ixionis ANGUES,
'Immanemque rotam, et non exsuperabile saxum."

Now because no mythologer, poet, or scholiast, or other writer, mentioned snakes as part of Ixion's punishment, but only a moving wheel; the author made no doubt but "orbes" ought to be restored from the Roman codex, as preferable to "angues."

——————— "*tortosq:* Ixionis *orbes,*
"Immanemque *rotam.*"

To this some objections have been made, which I now propose to consider.

"It is a rule," saith the Gentleman, "when MSS. differ, to "prefer a recondite and less usual reading to a more obvious "one. And this rule must then be allowed very good, when "a large number of MSS. are on the side of the former, against "one and no more."

I answer, that to lay this restraint upon the rule is to beg the question. For the point to be made out by him is, that 50 MSS. are always, or generally, at least in the case before us, better than one; which he attempts, by laying down a rule that "supposes" them to be so; and by this engine or critical mill destroys at once the finest emendations that ever were made. The incomparable Gronovius, in his notes on Seneca's tragedies, prefers the reading of one codex to forty, almost every where; and for unanswerable reasons. The present texts of Tertullian, Sallust, Herodotus, Florus, and Plautus, depend chiefly on single MSS. We don't find the restorers of these books telling noses while they introduce new readings; they all say, "est turba semper argumentum pessimi." The truth is, a great many particulars are to be considered in things of this nature, besides antiquity and number, which need not here be mentioned. I make, therefore, no scruple of setting aside a Canon which never was admitted, which was made only to serve a turn, and tends to make this branch of learning altogether mechanical.

The Gentleman alleges Virgil here intended two "distinct" punishments, or two distinct "parts" of the same torture; and that this appears from the "shortness" of the narration. But this again unfortunately is the question. We want to know whether the Poet intended to express "one" punishment, or more; and it lies on the Gentleman to prove the latter. Well: it appears from the "shortness" of the narration. I should rather imagine, that in so short a narration Virgil should mention but "one" torment, though there had been "really two." Besides, in a much "shorter" passage he expresses a "single" punishment in just as many words:

"Atq: Ixionii vento *rota* constitit *orbis.*"

And it will appear, by the authorities hereafter to be produced, that no writer whatever speaks either of two punish-

ments of Ixion, or of two parts of the same punishment, "Servius" only excepted; who, in all probability, has been here interpolated, and corrected by the greater number of MSS. Besides, supposing snakes used for cords and binding a criminal to the wheel; (which is utterly unsupported by Mythology and poetical language) yet what writers, before this said Gentleman and partners, were ever yet so weak as to make them "parts" of the punishment?

He proceeds, though "orbis" be "volutus," and "rota" the "machina" itself, yet making use but of one and the same punishment, and the hendiadis and tautology nevertheless subsisting, we cannot in so short a narration admit them both."

Here I remark, in the first place, that he does not so much as spell his pretended figure right, which ought to be written "hendiadys," or rather ἓν διὰ δύο, ἓν διὰ δυοῖν. Nor secondly, which is much worse, does he understand the nature of it; but perpetually confounds it with what is certainly no figure at all, "tautology:" whereas every schoolboy knows, that in this form of speech, used often by Orators and Historians, as well as Poets, two substantives are only put instead of a substantive and an adjective, as "pateris" and "auro" for "pateris aureis." In the place then before us, there is nothing either like "paraphrase" or "tautology." And to call them the same as the Gentleman does, is contrary to all rhetoric. This cuts the very sinews of his objection, and therefore I dismiss it.

Again he urges, "The gentleman might spare the pomp of "sixteen testimonies (and yet he very formally adds a seven-"teenth) to prove what every one would have granted him,—"that Ixion was fastened to a wheel, which was perpetually in "motion."

I reply: The author of the emendation had two distinct views in producing so many vouchers. The first was to shew that "snakes" were "never" mentioned in Ixion's punishment. The second was to make it highly probable that as Virgil followed the Greek Poets, so the Latin Poets imitated him in this very passage. Foreseeing this stale and trifling objection, he suppressed (for which he was to blame) a great part of his evidence, which shall now be added. Soph. Philoct. 697.

> Λόγῳ μὲν ἐξήκουσ', ὄπωπα δ' οὐ μάλα
> Τὸν πελάταν λέκτρων
> Πότε τοῦ Διὸς, Ἰξίονα ΚΑΤ' ΑΜΠΥΚΑ
> ΔΡΟΜΑΔΑ ΔΕΣΜΙΟΝ, ὡς
> Ἔλαβ' ὁ παγκρατὴς Κρόνȣ.

Eurip. Herc. Fur. 1297.

> καὶ τὸν ΑΡΜΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΝ
> Ἰξίον' ἐν ΔΕΣΜΟΙΣΙΝ ἐκμιμήσομαι.

And in "Plutarch" de audiendis poetis, Ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς τὸν Ἰξίονα λοιδοροῦντας ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ μιαρὸν, οὐ μέντοι πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Σκηνῆς ἐξήγαγον ἢ τῷ τροχῷ προσηλῶσαι, "quam rotae adfigerem." Every body knows that Virgil follows Pindar, Apollonius, Euripides, and Sophocles, frequently; and that none of the Latin Poets ever recede from known mythology; and therefore it is highly probable that Virgil left "orbes," and not "angues." It is also plain that Virgil was a text to the succeeding Poets, as the ancients were to him. They all make use of his figures, diction, and numbers, and I think some of them allude to the place in dispute.

Propertius III. iii. 64.

> "Num *rota*, num scopuli, num sitis inter aquas?"

Ovidii *Ibis* 176.

> "Quiq: *agitur* rapidae *vinctus* ab *orbe rotae.*"

Met. IX. 123.

> ——————— "at *orbes*
> "Concubitus vetitos poteram inhibere *paterni.*"

They are the words of Hercules to Nessus, the son of Ixion. Seneca Herc. Fur. 750.

> "Rapitur volucri *tortus* Ixion *rota.*"

Thyest. I. 1.

> ——— "Sisyphi numquid lapis
> "Gestandus humeris lubricus nostris venit?
> "Aut membra *celeri* differens *cursu rota*?
> "Aut poena Tityi?"

Med. 744.

> "*Rota* resistat membra *torquens*, tangat Ixion humum."

And 1011:

> ——— "Membra quis praebet *rotae.*"

MS. Flor. queritur. *Heinsius reads:*

> ——— "Membra quis teritur rota."

Herc. Oet. 945:

> "Merui manus praebere *turbinibus* tuis,
> "Quaecunque regem Thessalum *torques rota.*"

Again 1068:

> "Haesit non stabilis *rota*
> "Victo languida *turbine.*"

The Author of *Octav.* 622:

——— "Tantali vincat sitim
"Ixionisque membra *rapientem rotam.*"

Agamemn. 15:

"Ubi ille *celeri* corpus evinctus *rotae*
"In se refertur."

They who are versed in Seneca know that his diction is very much Virgilian; and that he rarely loses sight of his great pattern for a page together, even in his prose writings. Epist. XXIV. "Nec Ixionem *rota volvi*, nec saxum humero Sisyphi trudi," etc.

Apocol.:

"Aliquando Ixionis miseri *rotam* sufflaminandam."

Statius, who parodies Virgil more than even Seneca himself, Theb. VIII. 51:

——— "Cur autem *avidis* Ixiona frango
"*Vorticibus.*"

Claudian *Rapt.* P. II. 335:

"Non *rota* suspensum praeceps Ixiona *torquet.*"

And (which by the way shows the skill of the learned Mr. Markland) in Ruf. II. 508:

——— "Dubio tibi pendula rupes
"Immineat lapsu; *volucer* te *torqueat axis.*"

Josephus Iscanus, a writer of the year 1220, alludes to this very place. IV. 204:

——— "Non labile saxum,
"Non *axis torquens*, non mendax vicerit unda."

And VI. 535, alluding to Virgil's,

"*Radiisque rotarum* destricti pendent,"

——— "tibi Tantalus undas,
"Ixion *radios*, saxum remeabile reddat
"Sisyphus."

Boetius, in the following Glyconics, III. 10:

"Non Ixionium caput
"*Velox* praecipitat *rota.*"

Fulgentius, Mythol. II. 17: "Qui quidem Ixion parvo tem-"pore *celere* regnum adeptus, dehinc regno expulsus est. "Unde et eum ad ROTAM damnatum dicunt, quod omnis "rotae vertigo, quae superiora habet, modo dejiciat."

Whether these and the above testimonies favour "orbes" or "angues;" and whether they hint at "two punishments," or two "parts of the same" punishment, let the reader judge. As for Virgil, he seems to have had these words of "Cicero" in Arataeis in his eye:

> "Ut nemo cui sancta manu doctissima Pallas
> "Tam tornare caute *contortos* possiet *orbes*,
> "Quam sunt in coelo divino numine flexi."

Dio. Orat. IV. p. 79. *'Αφωμοιοῦτο αὐτὸν τῇ τοῦ Ἰξίονος χαλεπῇ καὶ βιαίῳ* ΦΟΡΑι *τε καὶ ἀνάγκῃ*, ΤΡΟΧΟΥ *τινὸς ῥήμῃ* (l. 'ΡΥΜΗι) *κύκλον* ΚΙΝΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ *τε καὶ φερομένου*. Here are four words used to express motion, but nothing that indicates a double punishment. The same may be observed in Seneca:

> "Haec incitatis membra *turbinibus* ferat
> "Nusquam resistens *orbe revoluto rota*."

The last words, too, allude to the verse in question, and shew he read,

> "Tortosq: Ixionis *orbes*."

Michael Apostolius. *καὶ ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ζεὺς κολάζει αὐτὸν οὕτως* ΤΡΟΧΩι *διατείνας αὐτὸν, ἐποίησεν* ΑΕΙ ΦΕΡΕΣΘΑΙ *τὸν τροχὸν, καὶ ἐστιν ἀεὶ οὕτως* ΑΝΑΚΥΚΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ, *καὶ καταφερόμενος ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν.*

See also Nazianzen 2. Invect. in Julian.

But I must follow the Gentleman, who at last condescends to suppose "angues" to be a mistake. "Supposing it is such," says he, "yet the Roman codex delivered *us* from it, before *he* did."

Which of us, I pray? Did it deliver Germanus Valens, Guellius, Fabricius, De la Cerda, Heinsius, Ruaeus? Delivered us just as the Sylva of various readings in Mill's Testament has delivered us from "Euroclydon." Name any critic, from Scaliger to Dr. Bentley, that ever declared his approbation of the Codex Romanus here, or offered the least reason for its reception. "Yes," says he, "Pierius long ago said just as much for its reception as he has done." How so? Why, because it does not appear that he preferred either of the readings. They are his own words. The author of the emendation urges, what nobody urged before, *viz.*, that "angues" is contrary to all mythology, antient and modern, Greek and Latin: and further, that many writers, who evidently allude to this place

in Virgil, read "orbes," and none of them "angues." Last of all, that "orbes" is most agreeable to the phrase or diction of the Poet; and therefore Pierius, who preferred neither reading, nor hit upon any of the arguments already mentioned, said nevertheless just as much as the author of the emendation. In short, had Pierius considered that the figure ἓν διὰ δύο made by "orbes" was more beautiful, more in Virgil's manner than "angues," he would have preferred it for the very reason he seems to reject it.

To proceed.—The Gentleman insinuates, "that Mythologers "vary much in circumstances, and therefore the silence of so "many signifies little or nothing."

But it is the silence of "those" Mythologers, whom Virgil "certainly" followed. Nor do we argue entirely from silence, but from the harmony and consentient testimony of men of different ages and professions; from the "allusions" made by subsequent writers to this very place: writers to whom Virgil's text was sacred. Let us now see what difference there is, and what is the reason of it.

Now I affirm there is no difference in the "original" writers, or those prior to Virgil. Philostratus, in the life of Apollonius, about the year ccvi., has indeed these words, VII. 12. πολλῷ βαρύτερον ἢ εἴ τις, ὥσπερ φασὶ τὸν Ἰξίονα ΜΕΤΕΩΡΟΣ ἐπὶ τροχοῦ κνάμπτοιτο. And VI. 40. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν τροχῷ εἰκασμένος, ΔΙ' ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ κάμπτεται. Here is a difference as to the "place" only of Ixion's punishment, and no reason being given by Olearius in his notes, I observe that δι' ἀέρος is not taken from any ancient Mythologer, but from later Astronomers, who (as the Scholiast on Aratus informs us) usually called the "Corona Australis" Ixion's wheel. Therefore the passage of Philostratus is not all to the Gentleman's purpose. Again:

In the Scholiast, on "Lucian" Dialog. Deor. p. 197., we have not so much a variation as an addition. ῾ΥΠΟΠΤΕΡΩι τροχῷ δήσας τὸν Ἰξίονα ἀφῆκε φέρεσθαι ΔΙΑ ΑΕΡΟΣ ΜΑΣΤΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΝ, καὶ λέγοντα, Χρὴ τιμᾶν τοὺς εὐεργέτας. Mr. Le Clerc on the place, refers us to that trifler, Tzetzes, whose words are,

> Τῆς τόλμης ταύτης δ' ἕνεκα Ἰξίων ἐν τῷ ἅδη
> Εν ΣΙΔΕΡΩι ΣΤΡΕΒΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ τροχῷ ποινηλατεῖται.

Chil. IX. But all this (excepting the notion expressed by the word στρεβλούμενος) is taken from the Scholiast upon Homer, Il. A. Μετὰ δὲ θάνατον ἔλαβε δίκας παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁ Ζεύς, ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς καταχθονίοις στρέφεσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐπὶ ΤΡΟΧΟΥ ΣΙΔΕΡΟΥ. As to Tzetzes, he that will be at the trouble of reading a few lines further, will find he does not pretend to give the Mythology of Ixion, but to interpret the Fable. I say nothing to the words χρὴ τιμᾶν, &c., because they are taken from

Pindar, or else from the Schol. on the Odyssea: *τροχοὺς ποιήσας* ΥΠΟΠΤΕΡΟΥΣ **ἔδησε τὸν Ἰξίονα πρὸς τὰς τῶν τροχῶν κνημίδας, καὶ εἴασε κατά τȣ̃ σφαιροειδȣ̃ς φέρεσθαί βοῶντα, ὡς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀμείβεσθαι προσῆκεν.* Upon the whole matter, when there is any seeming difference as to circumstance in fable, it is chiefly found in such allegorical authors as Heraclides Ponticus, or in modern philosophers, who endeavour to explain it away, in order to avoid the sarcasms of Christian apologists. It is true, Nonnus, a poet of the year ccccx., seems to place Tantalus on a wheel as well as Ixion. Lib. XXXV.

> Ἄρεα δ' ἀῤῥαγέεσσιν ἀλυκτοπέδησι πεδήσω,
> Καί μιν ἀναλθήτοισιν ὅλον πληγῆσιν ἱμάσσω,
> Εἰς τροχὸν ΑΥΤΟΚΥΛΙΣΤΟΝ, ὁμόδρομος ῾δῖος ἀλήτης
> Τάνταλος ἠερόφοιτος, ἢ Ἰξίων μετανάστης.

Jupiter is here introduced as threatening the God of War. The second verse must not be understood as relating to Ixion's punishment, but as an "additional" fiction of the Poet himself, and the last alludes to the "corona austrina." See Manilius and Hyginus. As to what this inaccurate writer says of Tantalus, it is unsupported by antiquity.

Lastly, the Gentleman's explication of "tortos Ixionis "angues," is what the Latin will not bear; viz., that "the "ligatures were serpentine," as "Natalis Comes," from an interpolated "Servius," also assures us. It is contrary, both to poetical fiction and language, to use snakes for bands, and those words in the Poets mean whips or lashes.

Aen. V. 495.

> "Tertius Eurytion, tuus o clarissime, frater
> "Pandare: qui quondam, jussus confundere foedus,
> "In medios telum torsisti primus Achivos."

I made this observation p. 283. Minerva persuaded Pandarus to do this base action.

> Τῷ δε φρένας ἄφρονι πεῖθεν. Hom. Il. Δ. 104.

Which made me fancy that it might be

> "*Suasus* confundere foedus."

But "jussus" is better. It became Virgil to favour as much as possible the Trojans and their friends: and therefore he says "jussus," to excuse the conduct of this hero.

To this the following objection has been made: "There is no "occasion to seek shelter in this artifice; for *jussus* is better "than *suasus,* because it is the reading of the MS., and because

"it is synonymous with *suasus;* what the Gods persuade, they, "as it were, command, and so of the people; and accordingly "*Caesar* joins *hortor* and *jubeo* together, *Quòd res nulla suc-* "*cesserat, postero die consilium ceperunt ex oppido profugere,* "hortante et jubente *Vercingetorige,* de B. G. 7. 25. Thus "κελεύω of the Greeks is properly *jubere,* but as frequently "*hortari, suadere, rogare, petere.*"

I cannot pretend to give a full answer to the "Gentleman's" objection, for I am in the case that Simonides was once in: the more I consider it, the less I understand it. However, two things I see in it.

1. An apophthegm, "What the gods persuade, they as it were command."

2. An assertion, that "jubere" may signify to "persuade."

1. The apophthegm has nothing to do here, for Minerva came in to Pandarus in disguise, like a man, and a man that was but his equal at best,

"Ἡ δ' ἀνδρὶ ἰκέλη Τρώων κατεδύσεθ' ὅμιλον
"Λαοδόκῳ Ἀντηνορίδῃ"——

and having laid aside the appearance of a goddess, laid aside the authority of one.

2. The Gentleman has asserted that "jubere" may signify to "persuade;" but any one may see that he has not proved it.

But suppose "jubere" may signify to "persuade," yet "jussus" here in Virgil means "commanded," for the reason which I have given.

Pandarus was persuaded by Minerva, appearing like the son of Antenor, to do an infamous action, and he was induced by the hopes of being paid for it.

Virgil leads away his reader from the thoughts of this, and says,

—— "jussus confundere foedus."

Pandarus shot at Menelaus, and wounded him. This also Virgil softens, and says,

"In medios telum torsisti primus Achivos."

Aen. II. 214.

——— "parva duorum
"Corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
"Inplicat."

Servius; "Inplicat, hoc ad mollitiem infantum corporis dixit."

I observed p. 281, that this remark was corrupted, or that it did not come from Servius.

To this a "Gentleman" has said, that Virgil uses "inplicat," to denote the pliableness of the infants' bodies, in opposition to that of the father, and that there is no need at all to suspect the genuineness of a remark so just.

But as far as I can hitherto learn from Latin writers, the word "inplico" denotes no such thing. It means neither more nor less than to encompass any thing by twisting and folding round it. Serpents are said, a thousand times, "implicare," "circumplicare hominem," "arborem," or any thing that they twist round, be it soft or hard, pliable or inflexible.

However, I would not be too forward to condemn this note, because if (as I find some judicious and ingenious persons think) it be Servius's remark indeed, and a just one too, it will help us to explain abundance of passages in ancient authors hitherto not understood. For instance, Val. Flacc. IV. 333.

"Illius excelsum ramis caput, armaque castor
"Implicat."

The word "Implicat," here shows the softness of the head of Pollux. No wonder then that Amycus broke it, as we learn from v. 330.

——— "tenues tamen ire cruores
"Siderea de fronte vident."

Ver. 255.

"Anguis—spiris nemus omne refusis
"Implicuit."

The word "Implicuit," shews the softness and pliableness of the wood.

VIRGIL, AEN. VII. 135.

——— "frondenti tempora ramo
"Implicat."

Ibid. 355.

——— "ossibus implicat ignem."

The word "Implicat," shews the softness and pliableness of Aeneas's head, and Amata's bones, &c. &c.

GEORG. IV. 415.

——— "liquidum ambrosiae diffudit odorem;
"Quo totum nati corpus perduxit."

Servius; "unxit eum quo posset esse *videndi* numinis capax." I corrected it "vincendi," or "vinciendi," p. 278. A Gentle-

man observes "that by videndi is not meant the bare act of seeing only, though perhaps that might be one reason of this unction. See Serv. ad Eclog. VI. 24. But the coming into his presence, which could not be done without difficulty, by reason of the stink of the Phocae."

1. It is not very safe to deal in negatives, but I think here I may venture to say, that there is not any ancient writer, nor any learned modern, except the Gentleman, whoever told us that "ambrosia" was good for the eyesight. This I take to be ground enough for supposing that Servius, who was a scholar, would not have given us such an interpretation.

2. Let us suppose that "ambrosia" was good to clear a man's eyes,

"Ὄφρ' εὖ γινώσκῃ ἠμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα."

Yet here the application of it seems to shew, that it was intended for another purpose;

——— "Totum nati corpus perduxit."

"She anointed him all over to mend his eye-sight." A likely story!

3. "Videre," as the Gentleman will have it, signifies more than to see. What more shall it signify? To bear the stink of the Phocae? That, or what he pleases:

"χαιρέτω ἕκαστος οἷς ἥδεται."

Aen. VIII. 633.

——— "Illam tereti cervice reflexam
"Mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua."

I said, Is not "mulcere alternos" too bold an expression, since motion cannot be represented in a picture? I dare not condemn it, p. 284.

On this a Gentleman has observed,

1. That I am here indebted to Servius, who says, "Non quod in pictura erat dicit; sed id quod intelligimus factum fuisse."

2. That "alternus" is used by the poets for "ambo," and so I may, if I please, take "mulcere alternos" for "mulcere ambos."

3. That it is an idle question; for in strictness how could they be represented as "playing," v. 632, or "moving,"as Serv. interprets it; as both "playing and sucking?" Cod. Answer.

1. How far I am indebted to Servius, the reader must judge.

2. If I loved cavilling, I might say that "alternus" is never used for "ambo," but "alterni." It is sufficient to say that "mulcere alternos," *&c.*, means, "to fondle and lick them by turns," that the nature of the thing requires this interpretation, and that if some writers use "alterni" for "ambo," it signifies nothing in the case before us.

3. In a picture things can be represented in an act of motion, birds flying, water flowing, children playing, &c., but a change of motion, I imagine, cannot be described, as, for instance, a wolf fondling and licking two children by turns. However, I did not condemn it, because poets have given themselves the liberty of going beyond the truth in such representations, and describe pictures, where a change of motion is said to be expressed. But commonly that change of motion is but small, as the trembling of trees when the wind shakes them, *&c.*

I believe, if a poet, giving an account of a picture, was to insert, "There you might see a man running first to one place and then to another," he would not be much admired for saying so.

AEN. VIII. 131.

Aeneas says to Evander:

"Sed mea me virtus et sancta oracula Divûm,
"Cognatique patres, tua terris didita fama,
"Conjunxere tibi, et fatis egere volentem."

I said, p. 284, "If I had the authority of any books, I "should choose to transpose two half lines, and correct the "place thus:

"Sed *tua* me virtus, *tua terris didita fama*,
"Cognatique patres, et *sancta oracula Divûm*
"Conjunxere tibi, et fatis egerè volentem."

They who disapprove of the conjecture must acknowledge, that it is proposed with diffidence enough, and not obtruded upon Virgil or the readers.

I. The words "fatis egere," have a more particular reference to the words "sancta oracula Divûm," than to the rest of what precedes,

("Auguriis agimur Divûm, iii. 5.
"Sed nos fata deûm vestras exquirere terras
"Imperiis egere suis, vii. 240.)"

And, therefore, it seems more proper that "sancta oracula

Divûm" should end the second line, as "fatis egere volentem" ends the third line.

II. In defence of "mea me virtus," it may be said that poetical heroes are given to bragging, that Aeneas boasts of himself upon other occasions, and that it is good sense, and a compliment to Evander: "the consciousness of my virtue en-"courages me to seek your alliance, and persuades me that "I shall obtain it, because men of worth are naturally friends "to each other."

Something may be said on the other hand. It may be said, that the places where Aeneas commends himself are not quite parallel to the one before us. He says to his son,

"Disce, puer, virtutem ex me;"

where it is more allowable. And he says to a lady whom he met in a wood, who proved to be his mother;

"Sum pius Aeneas—fama super aethera notus."

Addressing himself to an unknown lady, he thought it proper to recommend himself to her favour, by adding somewhat in his own praise. His calling himself "pius Aeneas," has been observed to be no boasting, but rather telling the name he went by. May we add, that if there be any indecorum here, it is owing to Homer's "καὶ μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει," copied by Virgil? And may I venture to say, that Virgil follows Homer sometimes, where he might as well have let it alone? as Aen. X. 517. Of this let every one judge as he thinks fit.

It might also be said that Aeneas's business being "captare benevolentiam," the first thing to have been mentioned by him, among the motives that brought him to Evander, was the merit of that prince. He might have began so without lessening himself, and descending from his character: "mea virtus," in the first place, and "tua fama," in the last, has the appearance of an awkward "ὕστερον πρότερον," and "*tua* me virtus conjunxit tibi," seems to be a more decent compliment than "mea."

"Tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum," says the man in Horace, who would insinuate himself into the favour of a rich old fellow. Horace, it may be said, is describing a flattering scoundrel. No matter for that; the flatterer pretends not to be one, and puts on the air of a man of importance.

Further. Every one that is acquainted with Virgil and Lucretius must needs know that Virgil is a great imitator of that excellent poet. He might possibly have had in his mind this verse of Lucretius,

"Sed tua me virtus tamen, and sperata voluptas"——

But this I lay no great stress upon.

The repetition "tua —— tua," is Virgilian: Aen. VI. 695.

—— "tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago,
"Saepius occurrens, haec limina tendere adegit."

III. But, say some, it is enough to prove this conjecture to be wrong, that both Servius and the MSS. are against it. Why so, Gentlemen? Do you not know learned men are of opinion, that Virgil's text is corrupted in some places, even where Servius and all the MSS. conspire to defend it? It is not impossible that Virgil's own copy of this unfinished poem might be interlined in some places, that some half lines might be out of place, and that they who published it might give it, in some passages, otherwise than Virgil designed it. Thus much is fact, that before the time of Servius, there were various readings in Virgil, and doubts concerning the true text. We learn from Servius and A. Gellius, that even in that finished work of Virgil, the Georgics, II. 247, some read "amaro," and others "amaror." But I have not summed up all the evidence on both sides. A Gentleman says, that when I disjoined

"mea me virtus, et sancta oracula Divûm,"

and transposed the two half lines, I had forgot the two passages produced by myself, where "dii" and "mens sibi conscia recti" occur jointly, "dii" and "mores."

Aen. I. 607:

"Dii tibi —— et mens sibi conscia recti
"Proemia digni ferent."

Aen. IX. 252:

—— "pulcherrima primum
"Dii moresque dabunt vestri."

I have an answer for this objection, that will fit it to a hair, which is, that my transposition—

"tua me virtus, tua terris didita fama,"

is confirmed by Virgil himself, who sings thus,

—— "sed FAMAM extendere factis
"Hoc *virtutis* opus" ——

where, luckily for me, "virtus" and "fama" are neighbours.

After all, I look upon the conjecture which I have been reviewing, as a very uncertain one; or, to speak of it in the humblest manner, as only a little more plausible than this objection to it.

GEORG. II. 285.

" Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem;"

I said before: Perhaps it might be " inanis." A Gentleman has made objections to this conjecture. His objections are such as I think I could answer; but I choose to say nothing to them, because I agree with him, that this place wants no alteration. By " animum inanem," Virgil seems to mean the same thing as Georg. III.

" Caetera quae *vacuas* tenuissent carmine *mentes*."

Plautus has " aedes aurium vacivas." Pseud. I. v. 54.

Stat. Theb. X. 228.

" Vertice sic Pholoës volucrum nutritor equorum,
" Cui foetura gregem pecoroso vere novavit,
" Laetatur, cernens hos montis in ardua niti,
" Hos innare vadis, certare parentibus illos.
" Tunc *vacuo* sub *corde* movet, qui molle domandi
" Ferre jugum." *&c.*

Communicated.

AEN. VI. 95.

" Tu ne cede malis; sed contra audentior ito,
" Quam tua te Fortuna sinet."

Servius and others: " Esto audentior quam tua te fortuna sinet." I rather think we should understand " quam viam." Perhaps " sua" may be right, which is in most of the ancient MSS., as Pierius says:

608.

" Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat,
" Pulsatusve parens, et fraus innexa clienti, *&c.*
" Inclusi poenam *exspectant*."

Perhaps " expendunt." It follows,

" Ne quaere doceri
" Quam poenam, aut quae forma viros, fortunave mersit.
" Saxum ingens volvunt alii," *&c.*

v. 739.

——————— " veterumque malorum
" Supplicia expendunt."

Aen. X. 469.

"expendere poenas."

Aen. XI. 258.

"scelerum poenas expendimus."

Aen. II. 229.

"scelus expendisse."

"Exspectant" might come from "Inclusi," which offers the idea of a prison, where they were supposed to be confined until they were brought out to be punished.

VII. 427.

"Haec adeo tibi me, placida cum nocte *jaceres*,
"Ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia jussit."

Perhaps "jacerem."

VIII. 9.

"Mittitur et magni Venulus Diomedis ad urbem,
"Qui petat auxilium, et Latio consistere Teucros,
"Advectum Aenean classi, victosque Penates
"Inferre, et fatis regem se dicere posci,
"Edoceat, multasque viro se adjungere gentes
"*Dardanio*, et late Latio increbrescere nomen."

Perhaps:

——— "multasque viro se adjungere gentes,
"*Dardanium* et late Latio increbrescere nomen."

FINIS.

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